

# THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

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ART. I.—1. *Selections from the Records of Government Papers relating to the Reforms of the Police of India, 1861.*

2. *Act No. 5, of 1861.* Passed by the Legislative Council of India.

3. *Report upon British Burmah.* By R. Temple, Esq., and Lieut.-Col. H. Bruce, 1860.

THAT the question of Police Reform has of late engaged so largely the attention and occupied to such an extent the thoughts of our legislators, is not to be wondered at, when we consider the great importance of the subject, and the vast influence that a right solution of the question must exercise, not only upon the present, but also on the future condition of our Indian Empire. One of the great results of the storm which recently swept over India, and of the transfer of the reins of Government from the 'Company' to the Crown, has been the recognition, to a certain extent, of the power of public opinion, and the gradually strengthening belief, that the voice of the people has a right to be heard, and that those who pay taxes should have a share, however small, in giving laws to the empire. With what contempt such an idea would have been received only a few years back, by the Civilian governing class in India, we need not pause to point out. Certain it is, that the men, who in former days were contemptuously looked down upon as 'interlopers,' and who were only tolerated in the company's territories as long as they were not disagreeably troublesome, are now

beginning to feel their strength and to make themselves heard. And in proportion as their right to do so is conceded, and their position is recognised, will India become attractive to European Settlers, and will draw to her ample bosom a band of colonists, who, in their efforts to enrich themselves, will confer a tenfold benefit upon the land of their adoption. Already from the homes of civilization, and the great marts of commerce in the far West, the restless Anglo-Saxon is looking out across the Eastern seas to the plain of Hindostan, for a field wherein to expend his inexhaustible energy and his unemployed capital. But if we are willing that he should not look in vain, if we desire to allure to our shores men with wealth to invest and enterprise to direct its investment, as well as some of their poorer, though equally hard-working brethren, we must take care that the country to which we invite them, is one where their lives will be safe from attack, and their property from plunder; where, away from the centres of civilization, on the slopes of the distant hills, or on the plains and in the jungles of the rural districts, to which doubtless many would direct their steps, they can live secure from the alarm of robbers and the murmurs of rebellion, to give their undivided attention to the development of the resources, and improvement of the cultivation of their estates. Such a state of tranquillity can only be secured by good laws, given by a wise Government, and enforced and upheld by a well organized and trustworthy machinery. That a good police forms a most important part of such a machinery no one will deny, and thus we arrive again at the point from which we started, that the subject of Police Reform is of the highest importance to the future of this magnificent empire. We propose in the following pages to give a very brief history of the steps which have led to the present prominence of this question before Government, of the progress that has been made and is making, and the results that have already been achieved.

The reform of our police administration had long been before successive Governments of India. All united in condemning the existing systems, but for a long period no serious effort appears to have been made to improve them. At last however Sir Charles Napier, after his conquest of Scinde, boldly set aside the forbodings of those, who, clinging to ancient traditions, prophesied the failure of any deviation from the time-honoured grooves of past ages and applying to the newly acquired province the principles of police he had learned and tested in England, he gave to Scinde the first good police we ever had in India. The success which has attended its working, and



the fact that to the present day it remains in all material principles of composition, organization and action, the same as when it came from the hand of the great Scinde Administrator, proves how well he was justified in his determination and how entirely he appreciated the wants and requirements of the people he governed.

The next reform was made in Bombay. In 1848 we find the Honorable Mr., afterwards Sir George, Clerk recording his opinion that 'the police throughout the presidency is on a footing, in several respects, most unsatisfactory.' This, to say the least of it, is a very mild exposition of the extremely useless and inefficient state of the Bombay police as then existing; but a reference to his minute on the subject, and a consideration of the facts he adduces in support of his views, will show the reader that nothing could possibly have been worse; that in 10 Zillahs upwards of 7000 cases of gang and high-way robbery, burglary, and cattle-stealing occurred in one year, thirty of which were attended with murder, and that the influence of the police either in the prevention or detection of crime was next to nothing.

The remedy he proposed, and which, after some time, was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, and adopted, was to follow to a certain extent the great principle of the separation of police from magisterial functions, which Sir C. Napier had first initiated in Scinde, and to place the police of each Zillah under a separate officer, who was to be subordinate to the magistrate, and under him to devote his whole attention to its control and working. Subsequently, we think in 1855, a Commissioner of Police at the seat of Government was authorised, who exercised control not only over the police officers above referred to, but also over the magistrates themselves, in all matters relating to police administration and action.

Soon after these changes had been carried out in Bombay, an inquiry, the fame of which has spread over Europe, was set on foot in Madras, and in 1855, the report of the celebrated 'Torture Commission' reduced to a certainty the long entertained fears and suspicions of all thinking Europeans in India, while it filled with dismay the hearts of those mild philanthropists at home, who believed we were faithfully fulfilling our mission amongst the heathen, and putting forth by the beneficence of our rule in the east, the best possible advertisement of the benefits of civilization and the blessings of Christianity. One of the witnesses examined before this Commission gives it as his carefully formed opinion of the Mofussil police, that 'it has become the bane and the pest of society, the

'terror of the community, and the origin of half the misery and discontent that exists among the subjects of Government. Corruption and bribery reign paramount throughout the whole establishment: violence, torture and cruelty are their chief instruments for detecting crime, implicating innocence, or extorting money'—And this opinion the Commission deliberately adopted and put forth, as the enunciation of their own sentiments. After this terrible description we are not surprised to learn, that in the Madras presidency there occurred in 1854, no fewer than 1724 gang robberies, of which 481 were attended with aggravating circumstances.

To Lord Harris was due the credit of exposing the horrors of this monstrous evil, and to him also belongs the merit of an immediate and successful remedy. He lost no time in proposing a thorough and radical change of the whole police system of the presidency, persevered in carrying out the change in spite of the opposition of conflicting opinions, and the obstacles and delays which were the inevitable accompaniments of the Mutiny, and saw the complete triumph of his ideas, and the entire adoption of his plan, in the Act, XXIV of 1859, which contained the police bill for the territories subject to the Governor of Fort St. George. The success which has already attended the introduction of this new police, and many interesting details of its system, and of the favourable reception it has met with at the hands of the rural population, were very recently related in an article in this Review.

We have seen the wave of Police Reform, taking its rise in Scinde and following the coast line, spread over the Bombay presidency. Passing round Cape Comorin it fertilised the plains and table lands of Southern India and the Deccan and rolled onwards till it reached the mouth of the Ganges. But here its progress was stayed. In Bengal much had been thought, much had been spoken and much written, but nothing had been done. The police of the Bengal presidency were acknowledged on all hands to be the worst in India. They are described in a paper read by Lieut. Col. Kennedy in March 1859, at the United Service Institution in London, as freebooters, whose only vocation was to plunder the people they were supposed to protect. Lieut. Governor after Lieut. Governor had condemned them as utterly destitute of morality and wanting in efficiency; one Lieut. Governor writes, 'throughout the length and the breadth of the land, the strong prey almost universally on the weak, and power is but too commonly valued only as it can be turned into money,' One would have supposed that the evil being felt to be so enormous, and the advantages to be derived from its



suppression so obvious, more earnest endeavours would have been made to introduce a happier state of things. It was not only a moral but a financial evil. Sir C. Trevelyan gives expression to his opinion thus: 'If real protection of life and property were established there,' (in Bengal) 'by the formation of an efficient police, and the people were ruled quietly and prudently, with all our power, the magnificent valley of the Ganges alone would yield more than the present revenue of the whole of British India.' Nor was the police of the North West Provinces much, if at all better. The disease was felt to be universal as to locality and mortal in its effects. Yet no one was found bold enough to come forward and apply the only remedy that could prove efficacious, the eradication of the whole system and its agents, and the introduction of a new and healthful organization.

Something more powerful, than the reports of amelioration in Bombay, and the echo of the cries for reform in Madras, was required, ere the people of Bengal and the N. W. P. should be delivered from the intolerably oppressive police, under whom they groaned. That something came at last in the grand crash of the mutiny, and as the tempest spread, and district after district in upper India was submerged in the irresistible flood, the regular police melted away like snow drifts before the southern breeze, and was either seen no more, or reappeared amongst the ranks of the mutineers to urge on their fury and incite it to acts of unparalleled atrocity. In the day of trial their cowardice, their corruption and their treachery were found to be equal, and the men who had been specially appointed as the conservators of law and order, were the first to join the cry for universal anarchy, and to add their forces to the multitude that endeavoured to subvert both.

The storm swept past; the atmosphere began to clear; district after district, emerging from chaos, again acknowledged the Anglo-Saxon ruler, and returned to the easy servitude of a well organized and well administered government, and again in upper India the old police, if not in the same persons, at least in the same system and retaining the same effete character, was restored to its old haunts. But together with it, forming a duplicate police administration, and devouring incredible sums of the sadly diminished finances, was found, both in the N. W. P. and in Bengal, another power which the exigencies of the times had called into being, and which, as it had been a means of protection during the times of trouble, threatened now in the times of peace, to be the cause of utter ruin to the country. This power was the military police.



While the storm lasted every nerve was strained, as might have been expected, to arrest its fury. To the Englishman it was a matter of life and death. Men fighting for their lives are not likely to question the policy of the means taken to preserve them, nor to scrutinize at the time their costliness. Money was plentiful and supervision over its expenditure had ceased to be exercised. Half the officials in India urged on by every variety of motive, private, personal, political, or public, conceived that their chief, if not only mission on earth, was to organize a regiment of Irregulars, or raise a body of horse; and the result was what we have seen.

Hordes of military police and local levies, whose name was Legion, and whose aggregate numerical strength has, probably, never been accurately known to any one, had grown up in every district, pervaded every town and patrolled every high way, and bid fair, if allowed to remain undisturbed, to become as great a source of anxiety in the future, as the pretorian sepoy had proved in the past, while, for the time being they consumed the revenue of country, and contributed no inconsiderable impetus to the forces which were hurrying the coach of state along the broad and easy road leading to insolvency. Such was the state of police affairs in Bengal and the N. W. P., when the late lamented Mr. Wilson arrived in India, and, as we shall shortly see, that great financier was not slow to discover the root of the evil, and to apply himself to provide a sure, and, we believe, a successful remedy.

But before proceeding to consider what this remedy was, we must ask our readers to turn aside with us for a short time, and see what was being enacted in another Province. Lucknow was no sooner taken from the rebels in March 1858, than the Chief Commissioner of Oudh directed that immediate steps should be taken for the formation of an armed police. The promptitude of this action, and the extraordinary energy with which the officer to whom the task was entrusted, carried out his orders, soon bore their legitimate fruit. Regiment after regiment was formed, organized, drilled, clothed, armed and prepared for service, and by the month of October, 1858, the ranks of the Oudh police numbered 13,000 men, who on many occasions in the field proved the excellence of their rapid organization and training.

The country was then being slowly wrested, step by step, from the rebels. And as the purely military forces of the Commander-in-Chief advanced, their places were taken up by detachments of the military police, who thus prevented the return of the insurgents, and enabled the civil officers to restore the civil administration. The thanahs were re peopled with the old thanahdars

and burkundazes, who emerged from their hiding places, or deserted from the rebel ranks, as they saw the hopes of successful resistance disappearing, and the prospect of re-employment under the Government brightening in the horizon. In a short time the same incubus that oppressed the N. W. P., the double police, would have settled down upon Oudh, and added another outlet to the drain on her already exhausted finances. Sir R. Montgomery, however, with his usual prompt decision, came to the rescue, and in December 1858, before the last band of rebels was driven in confusion over the Raptee, had issued his orders that henceforth there should be but *one* police in Oudh, a police which, while it conducted the ordinary police duties of prevention and detection of crime, would, at the same time, be strong enough to protect the peaceably disposed inhabitants, and would put down with a vigorous arm all attempts at outrage and plunder.

The thanadars and their satellites were quietly discharged, and the newly organized police, assuming their civil functions became from henceforth the only police of the Province. In the Police Report of Oudh for the year 1859, in allusion to this transition we find the following sentence. 'A hypothetical case of 20 Regiments of British Infantry turned over for civil employ for a police in Ireland, will hardly give an adequate idea of the task which devolved upon the officers of the Oudh Police.' Had the writer said 'French Infantry' instead of 'British' we believe he would have been still nearer the mark, for the regiments of military police to which the civil duties were now made over, consisted in some districts, almost entirely of Seikhs, and Punjabees, unacquainted with the language and indifferent to the manners and habits of the people. Some of us can remember the opposition which this scheme met with, and have not forgotten how speedy and hopeless failure amidst 'shouts of derisive laughter' was confidently prophesied as its inevitable fate. No one will now venture to deny the wisdom which planned and the bold decision which gave execution to the measure. The Oudh police has been a great success. It is notorious that there is not in the whole of our Indian Empire, a Province where the law is more respected, and where the crimes which were formerly so rife have been so speedily and so effectually repressed. Dacoity, previously the bane of the province, is almost unknown, and, if we except those mysterious supposed murders in one particular district, which have hitherto baffled not only the vigilance of the still unpractised police, but the skill of the vaunted Thuggee Department, heinous crimes of every description are of rare

occurrence. And not only has this security to life and property been afforded by the new police, organized and officered, be it observed, upon a system previously untried in upper India, but the mass of the people have found an inexpressible relief in their deliverance from the oppression and corruption of the old inefficient thanadaree. No better proof in support of this assertion can be adduced than the following quotation from the speech of the Oudh Talookdars recently delivered in open Durbar to the Viceroy of India at Calcutta. 'The new arrangements 'which have been made in the Police Department, through 'Colonel Bruce and other officers, have not only protected 'the life and property of the people from the hands of thieves 'and robbers, *but also put an instant stop to bribery,*' It is quite unnecessary to offer any comments upon the conclusiveness of such a testimony, coming as it does from the men who, of all others, are most competent to form a correct opinion upon the subject. We will not here enter upon any exposition of the system which led to these satisfactory results, as it differs but little from that which is now being introduced all over India, and upon which we shall immediately offer a few observations; but we would remark in passing, that it is our firm belief that very much of the success of the Oudh Police is attributable to the unwearied efforts of the European officers, to the real, indomitable English pluck with which they combatted all opposition, and returned undaunted to their work after every reverse.

We go back now to Mr. Wilson and the Police of the N. W. P. This sagacious statesman very soon after his arrival in India had his attention drawn to the subject. The question of finance was too intimately connected with that of police, to have long escaped his keen observation, and he speedily came to the conclusion, that the maintenance of a double police on a great scale was not only a financial, but a political blunder, and from that hour its doom was sealed. The question was urged upon the Government. Lord Canning always ready to listen to, and encourage any proposal for financial reform gave his ready acquiescence, and the seed thus sown, rapidly germinated in extensive inquiry, and fructified in the assembling of the Police Commission.

It was seen that the time had now arrived, when it was incumbent on the Government of India to give a distinct enunciation of its opinions and principles on the subject of the future police system for India. It was clearly a financial impossibility to maintain permanently a double police in the great Provinces of Bengal; equally clear was it, that to disband, at a stroke, the



military levies which had done such good service during the mutinies, but which were no longer necessary, for preserving the tranquillity of the country, would be to scatter broad-cast over the Presidency, a large body of discontented men, while, at the same time, to preserve the resuscitated thanadars and burkandazes would be to deliver over the people once more to the oppression under which they had laboured in times gone by. Re-established in their former places and re-invested with their traditional influence and power, the old police would have felt that their previous incapacity and proved cowardice and misconduct had been condoned, and they would henceforth have been stronger than ever to overbear the weak, and to connive at, or encourage the guilty. The time therefore was favourable for the introduction of a new system; the old one had been tried in the crucible of rebellion and had dissolved away. Some new scheme of administration could appropriately be introduced, with the satisfactory reflection, that, at all events, whether successful or not, it could not possibly be worse than the one it was to displace.

The members of the Police Commission were carefully selected, and it comprised men of great police experience, and some whose names had become well known throughout India during the recent disturbances. The instructions given to them by the Government were clear and explicit. They were carefully to compare the existing police systems, to ascertain the composition, organization and cost of the various police bodies of India, to acquire all the information in their power as to their efficiency and their results, and, finally, to propose for the consideration of Government the broad fundamental principles, which their deliberation would lead them to believe to be essential in all circumstances and localities to the existence of a good police. More than this, the Commission was furnished with a memorandum which will be found at page 240 of the papers relating to the reform of the Police of India 1861, which embodies the views of Government on the characteristics of a good police. In this brief and masterly production, which entirely exhausts the subject upon which it treats, will be found sketched out the attributes and requirements of a police more perfect than India has ever seen—more perfect, perhaps, than we shall ever see, but, nevertheless, not to be regarded as beyond the possibility of attainment.

The Commission met, and after a good deal of inquiry and discussion, submitted a very able report, embodying in the shape of a series of propositions their views on Police, for the approval of Government. This report has long been before the public, and we need not now examine it in detail. One thing

connected with it is remarkable, that notwithstanding the members of the commission had been drawn from all parts of India, and their opinions on many important points were at first known to be various, and in some cases antagonistic, the report after serious deliberation and debate, was unanimously adopted, and thus carried with it the additional weight of being an *united* testimony in favour of the system which it advocated. A brief sketch of the general principles laid down in these propositions will not be out of place here; and it is to be observed that these principles have been adopted by the Government as a correct exposition of its views, that they are embodied in its Police Bill published in Act V. of 1861, which finally passed the legislative council in March last, and are henceforth to be accepted as the fundamental doctrines of future police administration in India.

The Police Commission drew two broad lines of demarcation which had never been previously observed in India. The first was between the police and the military. For many years the latter have been in the habit of performing a great variety of purely civil duties. The protection of civil jails and treasuries, the escort of treasure, the watch and ward over commissariat and other stores, the supply of innumerable small detachments at great distances from regimental Head Quarters, for the over-awing of gangs of robbers and dacoits; these and many other duties which are strictly within the province of a good police have hitherto been in India performed by the Native Army. Commanders-in-Chief and Commandants of regiments have for years remonstrated against this illegitimate employment of their forces. The men thus taken from Head Quarters, and stationed at remote posts, away from the control and supervision of their officers, contracted lax habits subversive of all military discipline, while the strength of the Corps at Head Quarters became so much weakened as materially interfered with its efficiency, in the event of its being suddenly called upon to take the field. Again since the rise of the military police during the mutinies, many duties have been performed by them, which belong purely to the military under the Commander-in-Chief.

The Police Commission, recognizing the anomaly of this practice, lay it down as an axiom that henceforth there should be two and *only* 'two departments charged with protective and repressive duties and responsibilities'—the one the military under the Commander-in-Chief—the other the Civil Constabulary under the Civil Executive Government; that the military should at once be withdrawn from the performance of all the duties above

enumerated, which they had been in the habit of performing and should be confined in future to their proper spheres: in short, that all the Army should be concentrated in such positions as the military occupation of the country may render advisable, and that the only detachments should be in those positions whose military occupation is necessary from strategical considerations,—that the whole duty of protection of life and property and repression of crime should be confided to an organized and partially armed civil constabulary, and that only in the case of rebellions or extended insurrection from within, or foreign invasions from without, should their functions be superseded by the regular Army.

The advantages to be gained by this measure are twofold. In the first place the efficiency of the Native Army will be greatly increased. The majority of the men of every regiment being always at Head Quarters, they will acquire a much greater proficiency in all that belongs to military duty, while at the same time they will be relieved from the laborious and uninteresting escort duty which formerly fell so heavily upon the Sepoys, and regarding which we find the Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army writing in 1857, 'one third of the army is permanently on duty from year's end to year's end, and the men are disheartened and dispirited.'

Another no small advantage to be gained by the substitution of constables for military guards and escorts is the great saving that will accrue to Government. It is calculated that every Sepoy costs the state 250 rupees per annum, while the cost of a constable is at the highest rate Rs. 130, the average being probably not more than Rs. 120. If then the Government is enabled by the replacement of the one by the other, to reduce the strength of its Native Army while at the same time it adds to its efficiency, the gain both political and financial, will be very considerable; nor is this all, the strength of the future European Army in India must, after recent events, depend in some measure on the strength of the Native Army, and, when the latter can be reduced, the former may in a corresponding proportion be weakened also with safety, should other circumstances admit of it.

The second great line of separation drawn by the Police Commission is that between the executive police and the judicial authorities. A great deal has been spoken and written upon this subject. Many contend that there should be no severance at all, but that the police should be wholly and entirely under the magistrates as has hitherto been the case generally



throughout India. Others again insist that there should be no connection whatever between the two, and that the police through their Chief, should be responsible only to the Head of the local Government. While others again, admitting, in a general way, the necessity of information to the judicial authorities, have been unable to agree upon the exact point where this subordination should begin, some wishing to fix it upon the district Officer or Magistrate, others upon the Commissioner of a Division. We believe that very much of the controversy, which has taken place upon this subject, has arisen from misapprehension of what the upholders of the principle of separation really mean. The great principle involved in the question is simply this, that the *thief catcher* shall not be the *thief trier*; that the Officer who investigates the circumstances of a crime, hunts down and apprehends the criminal, arranges the evidence and prepares the case for trial, shall not then take his seat upon the bench and proceed to try the accused. If this principle is granted, it appears to us to be of very little consequence where the acknowledged link of subordination is to fit in, and we believe that in practice no difficulty will ever be experienced, for practically, the district Officer, as defined in the 31st proposition of the report of the Police Commission, must always be the supreme power in his own district, the police must always be bound to obey his orders, and therefore if any clashing of authority between him and the police Officer were likely to arise, a contingency which we believe would be of very rare occurrence, he would, as the paramount authority on the spot, be able to control the other, and prevent any evil consequences to which his recusancy might give occasion at the time. We believe, that in almost all cases, certainly in all where both judicial and police Officers have the interest of the Government at heart, there will be nothing like rivalry or quarreling about authority. The district Officer from his position, his experience, and his legal knowledge, will, in nine cases out of ten, be looked up to by the police Officer, who will have recourse to him for advice and assistance whenever he is at fault, while on the other hand the judicial Officer will, ere long, come to regard the policeman as his right-hand, in all matters affecting the protection and tranquillity of his districts.

This separation of the police and judicial functions is the grand fundamental principle of the present police reform, and is not calculated to introduce dissension and stir up a spirit of opposition as has been asserted, but on the contrary its tendency is to assist the district Officer, and carry him along with

it, by forming and placing at his disposal a more perfect instrument for the good government of his district than he ever had before. It cannot be denied that an English Officer, whose heart is in his work, and whose whole time and attention are concentrated upon it, will, in the course of a very few years, have formed a district police infinitely superior to any we have ever seen under the old thanadaree system; and it is as undeniable that in most districts where this is the case there will be little interference on the part of the district Officer, whose experience in police work will year by year diminish as that of the other increases, and who will, therefore, be too glad to leave him to work out his cases, and trace his criminals in his own way.

It will be seen from the above remarks, that the supervision and control of the police in future by a separate body of European Officers, is one of the points strongly dwelt upon by the Police Commission as an essential element of success in the new system. Their proposal is briefly as follows: that each local Government be for police purposes considered a police district; that a head of the police for such districts or province be appointed who will be subject to the control of the local Government only. That subordinate to him a sufficient number of European officers be appointed, in the proportion of not less than one to each civil district, who will control the police of their respective districts, subject to the general supervision of the magistrate, and be responsible to their chief for all matters of discipline, organization, drill, dress &c., he, in his turn, being responsible to the local Government for maintaining the whole force in a state of efficiency by personal attention and by general management through his subordinate officers. Thus it will appear, that as in each Province there will be but one responsible head of the police, so under the operation of the new scheme there can be but *one* police within the same limit, and all separate establishments of cantonment, coast and river police, salt chokeydars, thuggee and dacoity informers, and police for Railways, must, be gradually absorbed into the one great provincial department. As a matter of course the village police will also come under the police Officer, who will exercise over them the same control which has hitherto been in the hands of the district authority. The advantages of such centralization are too obvious to require comment.

These we believe to be the great fundamental principles advocated by the Police Commission, into the details it is unnecessary here to enter. There is one point, however, which we observe we have omitted, and which, though belonging rather

to military finance than to police reform, is too important to be left out. We allude to the recommendation of the Military Finance Commission, endorsed by the Police Commission and subsequently adopted in its entirety by the Government, that the police should, on the requisition of the military authorities, furnish police guards over military stores, the watch and ward over which can be maintained as efficiently and more economically by them than by the Native Army, and as such duty belongs properly to the military department, and cannot be fairly chargeable upon a civil constabulary, it is farther recommended that for all such guards supplied by the police, payment should be made by the department requiring them.

Thus a further reduction of the Native Army becomes possible, the number of men hitherto employed in these duties having been very considerable, while at the same time, by the system of payment above described, the Government has secured the best possible guarantee for economy, as the head of every department requiring a guard from the police, is held responsible for its cost, until he satisfies the Controller of Finance of the absolute necessity for having it. Those who remember how lavishly guards of sepoy were furnished upon every requisition, and for every conceivable purpose, in former days, will appreciate the very great saving likely to accrue from the introduction of the new system.

The Police Commission on submitting their reports, forwarded agreeably to instruction, received a draft act for a new Police Bill to be applicable to the whole of India. Their report is dated in September 1860, and in March 1861 Act V. of that year, being 'an Act for the regulation of Police' finally passed the Legislative Council after considerable discussion, and on the 22nd of the same month received the assent of the Governor General. In this act will be found embodied the great principles recommended by the Commission, of which we have given a brief and imperfect outline above.

But soon after receiving the report of the Commission, and some time before the act became law, Government having decided upon its future course with regard to the police of India, action was at once commenced without further delay. A Chief Commissioner of Police for the N. W. P. was appointed, and entered upon his arduous duties. The Government had decided that a double police should no longer exist in any province of the empire, that the military police, as such, should be immediately disbanded and absorbed into the new force, and that



for the future *one* distinct and fully organized civil constabulary only for each local Government should be recognized. The measures requisite upon the above decision have been carried out in the N. W. P. with great energy. All inefficient men of the military and of the old civil police have been discharged, the remainder have been formed into the constabulary, European officers have been appointed in every district, and the whole machinery is now at work, and will in due time, no doubt, bring forth the good results to be looked for from the known ability and energy of the agents employed.

Hitherto we have said nothing of the Punjaub. Soon after the annexation of that important Province, a civil police was organized upon the old thanadaree system, but with this in its favour, that the men composing it were more carefully selected, better paid, and more rigidly supervised by the district officer, than in the older Presidencies of India, and, we believe, it has been found to work well comparatively. In addition to this body, there was also a large force of military police, both horse and foot, whose duties were chiefly, if not altogether military, and whose operation was almost exclusively confined to guarding the extensive frontier. Now, however, this double police has been abolished, and the same system, as that which prevails in Oudh and has been initiated in the N. W. P., has been also inaugurated in the Punjaub. It is true there is still a local force kept up under the orders of the local Government and not under the Commander-in-chief, but this we believe is only a temporary arrangement, and, whether or no, it is entirely distinct from the civil police, and is not under the control of the Inspector General.

At Nagpore a similar police is being organized in which the local Infantry of those districts will, we believe, be absorbed.

The great Proconsulate of Bengal alone remains; but there too the note of change has been sounded, and we believe that while we now write, arrangements are progressing for the abolition of the military police and the drafting of the men in its ranks into the new civil constabulary.

We have now briefly recapitulated the measures of police reform which have been already introduced, or are in progress in the different Presidencies and Provinces of Hindostan, it remains further to notice what has been done in the same direction in the large outlying dependency of British Burmah; but as the introduction of a new organized police in that province is but part of a great scheme of financial reform which is now being carried out, it may not be out of place to include the whole in our

observations, though not within the proper compass of this article.

During the autumn of 1860, the President of the Military Finance Commission visited Rangoon, and on his return he addressed a Memorandum to Government, which will be found at the end of the 'Report upon British Burmah' wherein he pointed out, with that clearness and conciseness which characterise all his papers, a number of economical changes which might be made in almost every department of the administration. Soon after this, Colonel Phayre, the Commissioner of Pegu, arrived in Calcutta, and became during his stay a member of the Police Commission. After that body had submitted its report to Government, Lord Canning determined to send two officers to Burmah, to be associated with the chief Civil and Military Authorities of the province, as a special commission for the purpose of considering and reporting upon every measure of economical reform, that might appear practicable and desirable. Accordingly two of the members of the Police Commission who were men of tried ability and experience were selected for this purpose and leaving Calcutta, arrived in Rangoon on the 12th of November. From thence, in company with Colonel Phayre and General Bell the Military Commander, they travelled over a considerable part of the province, and after collecting and digesting all the information they could obtain, left Rangoon for Calcutta on the 4th of December, and on their return submitted to Government the very able and comprehensive report, published in the blue book indicated at the head of this article. We will not enter into details which are accessible to every one who feels an interest in them, and will content ourselves with giving a brief summary of the results. According to this report the annual expenditure of the Province of Pegu including military charges, has hitherto exceeded the revenue by the very considerable sum of fifty-nine and a quarter laes of rupees. The Commission go very carefully over every item of expenditure in each department, military, civil, police, marine &c. They propose a new police, to be organised upon the same principles, as we have seen applied to the new police forces in India, into which is to be absorbed the Pegu Light Infantry, which in Burmah represented the military police of India.

They recommend reduction in the military expenditure of Pegu to the extent of fifty-seven laes annually, and suggest a new arrangement and distribution of civil establishments for Pegu, Tenasserim and Arracan by which a further saving of seven laes annually will be effected. The result of the whole scheme when carried out being that, instead of the large annual deficit which

has hitherto obtained in these provinces, the yearly revenue and expenditure will be very nearly balanced. Many of the reductions recommended have already been effected, others are now being carried into execution, and we believe we are not mistaken in asserting that by the end of the present official year, the whole, or, at all events, those of great financial importance will have been made.

We think deserving of especial notice, the celerity with which in this case of British Burmah, action has followed on design. We attribute this, almost entirely, to the unanimity which has marked the proceedings of the two Commissioners, and their associates the Commissioner, and the Military Commander of the Province. Any one who will take the trouble to read the report will see that, in all the recommendations for economy they were all agreed. Their names are appended to all the propositions, and the two Calcutta members of the Commission bear ample testimony in this report, to the cordial and hearty co-operation not only of the chief, but of all the subordinate officers of the administration with whom they came in contact. We have here the instructive, and, we fear, unusual spectacle, of the whole body of officials of a large dependency uniting heartily to forward and carry out the economical views of the supreme Government, although, it cannot be doubted, involving in many instances the sacrifice of their own convenience, and, perhaps, in some, the diminution of their incomes. When we reflect upon the high value men put upon power and patronage, and how rarely we see those who have been accustomed to them cheerfully relinquishing any part of either, we shall perhaps appreciate more truly than we have hitherto done, the disinterestedness of the Government Officers in Burmah. But, as we hinted before, in these matters unanimity is the secret of success. No doubt there were some reforms the Calcutta Commissioners would have desired, and which the Burmah Officials could not approve, or the case again may have been reversed. On these points one or other evidently gave way, preferring to send up a series of recommendations to Government that carried the weight of an unanimous opinion, to framing proposals, perhaps more varied and universal in their application, but upon which all could not agree. It is a characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon to hold out tenaciously for what he believes to involve a principle. It is an admirable characteristic when rightly applied; though we fear, in too many cases, it degenerates into mere obstinacy. In this case, however, if disagreements did arise amongst the Burmah Commission, they wisely kept them to themselves, and the gratifying



result has been, that the Government hampered by no conflicting opinions, and not being called upon to decide between contending parties, has been able to proceed with promptitude to decided action.

Act V will, we presume, ere long have been made applicable to each of the local Governments of the Bengal Presidency, and we thus see a new system, amounting almost to a complete revolution in police administration, already inaugurated and about to be introduced throughout the whole of British India, from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from Peshawur to the Eastern boundary of Pegu. By this measure the military police and the old thanadaree will alike be abolished and will be replaced by a civil constabulary, more simple in its forms of procedure and at the same time, more centralized, sufficiently armed and organized to secure greater efficiency in action, while not sufficiently so, ever to become a source of apprehension to Government. The Native Army released from irksome and non-military duty will be concentrated at its several military stations, and being subjected to better discipline and supervision, will become more useful for its duties in the field; and while this improvement in its morale is effected, the simultaneous diminution of its numbers, will give a sensible relief to the Imperial finances. The new police will be less costly than the aggregate civil and military police have hitherto been, and the employment of constables for many duties of watch and ward over military stores in the place of sepoy, will render possible a further reduction of the numerical strength of the latter, and guarantee to the Government the exercise of a strict economy. Such, we believe, to be some of the advantages of the new system: we believe the subject has hardly received from the public the attention to which it is entitled, and that, as the change has been introduced in different provinces at different periods and not simultaneously in all, many people are unaware of the extent or the nature of the change. We shall consider ourselves fortunate if we have by these pages done anything to enlighten those in search of information, or to lead the public in general to a proper appreciation of the benefits anticipated as the result of the new system.

One or two observations still remain. And first, we would most earnestly advocate either the institution of a police bureau at Head Quarters of the Supreme Government, or that one of the already existing secretariats should be made the depository of police reports and police information of every sort from the several local governments. We believe the importance of this

can hardly be over estimated. By this means the Government will be able to compare the different local systems, to contrast the efficiency and the costliness of each provincial police, to discern the causes of variation in them, and to ascertain the reasons of the superiority or inferiority of one as regards another. In addition to this, a means of control will be furnished, which will act as an effectual check against departure from first principles.

We maintain that as with individual police officers so with local Governments, each should be left to carry out their legitimate objects in the way best adapted to their own genius, and to the peculiarities of the locality in which they happen to be situated; but as strongly do we maintain that the latitude left to them should in no case extend so far as to admit of a departure from fundamental principles. These having once been laid down, and forming as it were the back-bone of a system applicable to every locality, should be carefully guarded from any innovations or imagined improvements, which might otherwise be made at the caprice or upon the conviction of the rulers of any of the several provinces. While the Supreme Government wisely leaves the filling up of details, the completion of the structure as it were, to the local authorities; it should jealously protect the frame work, which secures a similarity of outline, from any interference which might mar the symmetry of the fabric.

Another point to which, we believe, too much attention cannot be directed, is the efficient supervision of the Police by hard-working, earnest European officers. Some go further than this, and desire a large introduction of Europeans into the upper ranks of the constabulary. This we look upon as a matter of minor importance. We believe that it matters little whether our Police Inspectors are Europeans, Eurasians or Natives so long as they are good men; and that good, well qualified useful men are to be found in each of the above classes of the community, we have little doubt; but we think that either Eurasians or Natives will rarely if ever be found to supply the place of the European district Superintendent. For this office honest, conscientious, hard-working men, who combine a true sense of duty with more than average acuteness, and common sense are required, and except, as we said above, in very rare instances, we do not believe such qualities will be found united anywhere but in the British Officer.

One more remark, and the task we proposed to ourselves at the outset will be completed. We desire ere concluding to enter our protest against the inconsiderate objections so

often raised in the local Journals against the new police. We are happy to observe that the criticisms to which we allude, seldom come from the editors of newspapers themselves, but generally appear as 'communicated,' or 'from the pen of a correspondent' in some locality or other. Many of these, we have good reason to believe, emanate from disappointed aspirants to police appointments, but they are not the less mischievous, as calculated to mislead the public, and bring discredit upon a system yet in its infancy and entitled to a fair and impartial judgment. If a dacoity is successful and the perpetrators get off unpunished, or if a murder is undiscovered, we are told it is the fault of the new police and of the new system. We heard little or nothing in former days of the frequent and signal failures of the thanadaree. We believe that in Oudh, where the system has now been on trial for two years, the amount of detected crime is no way inferior, to say the least, to what it was under the old system, while the general security of life and property throughout the whole province, is so infinitely superior as to admit of no comparison. It is not fair to impute inefficiency where the only fault is the unavoidable one of want of experience. A good police cannot be formed in a day. Although a moderate amount of capacity and of training are sufficient for an ordinary constable, still a *certain* amount of both are requisite, and a very large amount of both, added to many other qualities which no training can supply, are necessary for a good detective. To form a good official of this class are required great intelligence, experience of men and society, a steady head, a strong nerve, a quick appreciation of the value of evidence, and an instinctive perception of the faintest clue to a mysterious deed. Such men cannot be either formed or found in a day, and those who set themselves up to impugn the system and its agents, forget that policemen are not heaven-born, and that detectives are not rained like manna from the skies. A consideration of the speech made by Sir Robert Peel in 1829 before the House of Commons, when proposing his Bill for a Metropolitan police, and a contrast of what the police in London was then and what it is in 1861, will clearly bear us out in these remarks and show what may be the result of thirty years' experience in developing the efficiency of a police force.

In conclusion. In 1856 the Court of Directors in a despatch addressed to the Governor General of India, sum up generally their opinion of the Indian police in the following remarkable sentences. 'An immediate and through reform of police in all the old provinces of British India, is loudly called for. That



‘the police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established, is a notorious fact: that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly deficient for the detection of crime, is generally admitted. Unable to check crime it is, with rare exceptions, unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the function which it fails to fulfil, and has a general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organization; the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated, and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a police, is seldom entertained.’

We believe that the new system, we have been discussing, is calculated to remedy all the evils so forcibly pointed out in the above extract, and in that belief we demand for it a fair and unprejudiced trial.

We have read some where in the Bagh-o-Bahar of a country so admirably administered, that the inhabitants of the Bazaar never closed their doors at night, and travellers on the highway chinked their money in their pockets or tossed it in the air as they went along the roads, so confident were they in vigilance of the public guardians of their property. We are not so foolish as to assert that we shall ever arrive at such a state of security in India, but there is no reason why we should not aim at it. The higher our endeavours, the nearer we are likely to approach to perfection. A good police can do much, but it cannot do all. We must educate the people, instil into their minds moral principles, and teach them that it is both more pleasant and more profitable to do right than to do wrong, before we can hope to make much impression on our criminal statistics, and after all is done, we cannot anticipate any very remarkable cessation from crime, either in India or in the world, before the millennium: but, if we cannot wholly suppress crime, we can at least do much to repress and to detect it. There is nothing Utopian in this. We believe the wheels of police administration have now got into the right groove, and we look with confidence to the experience of the next ten years to bear us out in our conclusions, and to justify our hopes.

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ART. II.—1. *Report on the extent and nature of the Sanitary Establishments for European Troops in India.* Indian Records.

2. *Memorandum on the Colonization of India by European Soldiers.* Punjab Records.

THE three great objects of all Indian statesmen at the present moment are, to develop the resources of this magnificent dependency, diminish the expenditure of its administration both civil and military and increase the strength of our grasp on the country. All suggestions likely to lead to the attainment of any one of these desirable results, are worthy of attention, how much more so then a scheme embracing in its consideration all three. We claim this distinction for that which is the subject of the present article. How far we are justified in so doing, let the reader judge; but at all events, whether the proposition be deemed worthy of consideration, or looked upon as too theoretical for practical success, some good purpose may be attained from the mere discussion of the subject. We shall have greatly overestimated our subject, if in the course of our discussion its importance does not become apparent; and if our scheme should prove deficient or faulty in its details, more experienced or more capable men may be induced to fill up that outline; for we conceive that all must approve of the idea, though perhaps differing as to the mode in which it should be carried out; should such be the case our labour will not have been in vain.

We shall not follow the usual custom of passing in review the numerous instances, offered as well by ancient history, as by that of our own time, in which military colonization has been attempted; nor shall we seek to analyze the causes of their failure or success. In our opinion no good purpose could be effected by the adoption of such a course. The conditions and circumstances under which military colonies could be established in India, are exceptional and differ widely from those, which, in other countries, or in other ages, have attended similar experiments. We are not disposed to weary our readers, with prolix accounts of what is, after all, only apparently connected with our subject; and will therefore at once enter on the consideration of such a scheme as applied solely to India.

It would evidently be most desirable, if some means could be devised, by which we could reduce the present enormous native army. Such an act would not only largely diminish that over-

grown expenditure, which is at present paralyzing the action of our rulers, and preventing the introduction as well of administrative reforms, as of any large scheme calculated to increase the material resources of the country, but would also remove an important element of more than possible danger to the state. English troops must be maintained in a country which the recent mutiny has shown to be principally retained by the power of the sword. The effeminate trade-loving Bengalee may be well affected towards our rule, as well as the Hindu generally throughout the empire; but can we rely on the tranquillity of the Mahratta, with his hereditary love of war and plunder, of the so called independent states, of the Sikhs, with their abiding confidence in the ultimate triumph of the Khalsa, of the thirty millions of Mussulmans, animated by all the hatred of race, faith, and supplanted conquest? It is evident from past experience that we can neither trust to their military fidelity or civil loyalty. Such being the case, the necessity of maintaining a large English force becomes immediately apparent. This assertion is at once met by a statement of the vast cost of British soldiers; yet a trust-worthy army must be kept up, both for the maintenance of internal tranquillity, and for defence against external aggression. The fear of hostility from without may, by some, be considered groundless; but who can say that nothing is to be dreaded, either directly or indirectly, from Russia with her large and growing influence in central Asia; an influence to which our fleets can furnish no counterpoise, and which our diplomacy is far too obtuse and blundering to destroy? Who can assert that France, with her powerful steam Navy, might not convey a force to these shores, which, supported either by a disaffected population, or by some great feudatory, might inflict a wound, none the less hurtful, because it could not lead to any permanent success on the part of the invader? War and invasion are ever best averted by ample preparation for its event. These premises being admitted, the question arises, how are we to obtain the greatest amount of British combatant power, at the least possible cost. One method, undoubtedly, is to improve the means of communication, so that a large force might with rapidity be concentrated on the required spot. In this manner a small body, unless rebellion and war raged from one end of India to the other, would be as effective as a large army with our present imperfect means of transport. The construction of numerous railways, canals, and roads, together with the improvement of those of the latter already existing, as well as the organization of an efficient land and river transit, are measures which would lead to this desirable



result, and moreover be fraught with numerous commercial advantages. Promising as such schemes may be, time is required for their completion, and till that time arrives, and even afterwards, a considerable force of English troops must be retained. How to effect this at the least possible cost to the State, so as to combine military efficiency with the utilization of their productive power as citizens, is what we propose to consider in the following pages.

Increased military strength, reduced expenditure, and growing commerce would, in our opinion, follow the adoption of the scheme of Military Colonization which we now advocate.

In a country whose financiers deal with figures of vast magnitude, an experiment likely, to be productive of such important results, such permanent diminution of expenditure, is at least worthy of consideration. Each succeeding year and every newly surveyed hundred miles, discovers places, both in the hills, and on isolated eminences in the plains, whose climate is adapted to English constitutions, and where pursuits either of a manufacturing, commercial, or agricultural nature, could be advantageously followed. As regards agriculture taken in its broadest sense, and not limited to the cultivation of grain, merely ground can generally be found at no great distance from those spots, which from their healthiness, are suitable for English residents. The lowest ranges of the Himalayas, the isolated eminences and detached mountain chains in the Punjab and Rajpootana, may be cited as examples. Doubtless the Rajmahal and Neilgherry Hills, with many others, afford similar instances; but as we are merely indicating, not elaborating, a plan, we shall not attempt to be specific as to localities. Of course, in those places classed as regular hill stations, the settlers would be compelled to confine themselves, almost entirely, to manufactures or commerce, while in those of lower altitude and easier access to the plains, agriculture could be carried on with great ease, while they would be of sufficient height above the level of the sea to prove healthy. The house of the colonist would be within a mile or two, sometimes less, of his farm, a visit to which, morning and evening, even during the hot season, would be no great tax on his powers. Such an amount of supervision would be sufficient to prevent the labourers from neglecting their work, until the arrival of the cold weather, when a more close and active superintendence would be feasible. We employ the word 'superintendence' purposely, for in the present scheme we do not propose that, as a rule, the labours of the Englishman should extend beyond supervision. In English hands, under English direction, and with as little as possible intermeddling

by Government, we have little doubt but that the proposed military settlements, would soon become distinguished from the rest of India by prosperity and progress. Nor would such advantages be confined to the actual possessions of the British colonist. These spots would become the leaven influencing for good all the surrounding districts. The success of the experiment would attract many from England, who, forming partnerships with the military colonist, would contribute their money as an equivalent for his experience. By this means, a large amount of British capital would be invested in India ; a result, the attainment of which, on an extensive scale, is as desirable as it is difficult.

We do not intend to enter in detail, on the question of what manufactures or what products, would be developed, originated, or improved, by the present scheme ; we need merely mention that tea cultivation opens a vast field for the employment of industry and capital ; that the demand for an increased production, a more careful preparation, of cotton is, particularly in the present state of affairs in America, daily becoming louder ; that sugar is capable of augmented cultivation, and improved manufacture ; that good thread of native construction is unknown, and that there is no reason why such should continue to be the case ; that the inferior character of the iron generally made from the native ore, together with the success of the Kumaon iron works, and the daily increasing requirements of the different railway companies, point out an advantageous investment ; that the large amount of business done by the Kussowlee and Mussooree breweries shows that a want, inseparable from the presence of Englishmen, may be supplied without recourse to importation ; and, finally, that from the abundance of raw material, the varied nature of the soil, and the cheapness and abundance of labour, there is no reason why India should not compete, in the way of manufactures and commerce, with America, the West Indies, Manchester, Nottingham, Sheffield, Birmingham and the Welsh iron works. Before quitting this branch of our subject, we cannot refrain from mentioning, that we are acquainted with a private soldier in the Punjab, who is at this moment constructing a lace machine, having already successfully completed a model. Why should not lace be made in India equal to that of Nottingham or Belgium ! Surely the delicate, and nimble fingers of the Hindus are peculiarly adapted to such work. These facts show, that there exists in India, ample scope for English energy and industry, in the shape of superintendence and direction.

Having premised thus much, we proceed to suggest our plan ; which is, that in localities more or less elevated above the plains,

such as those we have indicated, military colonies should be established, under the following conditions and arrangements.

The privates and non-commissioned officers should be men who have served at least 14 years in the army, of which not less than 8 should have been in India. No one should be selected who was not married, preference being given to those with large families. Good character and health, as well as active habits, and a colloquial knowledge of the language, should be considered indispensable qualifications. The candidate should be acquainted with some trade, manufacture, or branch of agriculture, or be able to show a probability of supporting himself and family in comfort and respectability, and each man should possess not less than 300 rupees. On quitting the regular army, he should re-engage for 16 years, or so long a period as, when added to his former service, would make up a total of 30 years. In return for this prolonged engagement, each man should receive a free grant of land suited as far as possible, to the purpose or cultivation to which the colonist proposes to devote his industry. This land he should not be permitted to alienate, until the expiration of his service, when it should become his own absolutely, and in fee simple. In case of death before the completion of the tenant's engagement, the land should be in the same manner the absolute property of his legal representative, subject to the condition, that it should be resided on by an English owner or agent, for at least 16 years after the date of the first grant. In case of the colonist soldier being invalided before the completion of the 30 years total service, the grant, in the same manner and under the same condition provided above in the event of death, should become the absolute property of the soldier. The colonist should at all times, until the absolute acquisition of the land, be liable to be deprived of it, for repeated and grave misconduct, or for neglecting to keep the estate under fair cultivation. During the whole period of colonial service the soldier should receive two fifths both of Indian pay, and family allowances, and when called out for more than the regulated days of training, the full amount of both should be granted him. In all cases of military offences the colonist should be subject to the Mutiny Act, Articles of War, and Queen's Regulations, while all civil offences, should be dealt with by common law. The military colonists should be called out for one day's drill in each month, in their respective villages, and for eight days together for battalion drill annually in some central place. On these occasions they might be massed, either by wings, or regiments, as should be deemed most advisable. In addition to the above they should be liable to be called out, for not



more than three days in each year for guards of honour or other occasions of ceremony. In case of war or disturbance, or when they may be apprehended, or in any special emergency, such as the country being temporarily denuded of regular troops, the Lieut. Governor or Governor should be empowered to call out all, or any of them, for field service. Should any colonist before the expiration of his engagement become invalidated as unfit for active service, but be still considered capable of garrison duty, he should be placed on the reserve list, and be only compelled to attend the monthly and annual training in his own village. Such men should during the annual training, be practised in musketry, at as long ranges as can be met with in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; but care should be taken to render such drill and practice, as little fatiguing and irksome to them as possible. On the corps to which they belong being called out for active service, the invalids should form the garrison of the station. In the event of the soldier becoming permanently unfit for any service, he should be called before a standing committee, consisting of one field officer as president, and two surgeons as members, who, according to the circumstances of the case, such as the man's utter incapacity for any work, his pecuniary circumstances, his character, &c., should recommend him for the receipt of a pension not exceeding two fifths of what his pay and family allowance would amount to, were he still serving in the regular army. This pension should only be granted from year to year, and the amount for the ensuing twelve months should be fixed annually by the standing committee; at the expiration, however, of the term for which he engaged to serve in the colonist corps, the pension should cease. In order to secure either the men or their wives and families from positive want, under any circumstances, every man should, after the expiration of the third year's service, be compelled to contribute a very small sum monthly, such as two annas for himself, and one anna for his wife and for each child, by which a fund could be formed, whence relief might be afforded in cases of absolute distress either to the man after the expiration of his service, or to the widow and children in case of his decease. No man at the expiration of his engagement, should draw either pay, pension, or family allowances, except for special and meritorious services, for which a certain small sum should be annually placed at the disposal of the Secretary to Government, Military Department. Even after the termination of the period of the soldier's second enlistment, the original grantee of land should be bound to render feudal service by appearing in arms for the defence of the station in case of actual attack.

The Colonist villages should be occupied either by a company amounting to from sixty to a hundred and twenty, or a subdivision amounting to from thirty to sixty men. No village should be more than ten miles from the next, or further than twenty-five miles from the central point of assembly. Each company of eighty men and under, should be officered by one Captain and one Lieutenant; when over that strength another Lieutenant should be added. When the battalion consists of eight companies or under, the field officers should be two, namely, a Lieutenant Colonel and a Major; if over eight companies a second Major should be allowed. No Battalion should consist of more than twelve companies, and no company of more than one hundred and twenty men, exclusive of the reserve or invalid force. In each village an earthen fort with a shot-proof magazine and arsenal should be constructed. In the enclosure there should be also a good well, situated in a spot sheltered from the fire of the enemy, and provided with covered passages leading to it. The armoury should be sufficiently large to contain all the women and children of the station, while the men might obtain shelter in the casemates. A sufficient amount of provisions should be kept in store for a week's siege. The hospital, and treasury, should be within the walls of the fort, the latter being constructed in such a way, as regards flanking, defence, &c. that a very small garrison would suffice to hold it. One large 68 pounder pivot gun placed in the most commanding position, together with some half dozen 24 pounder howitzers and 12 pounder carronades distributed along the ramparts, would complete the armament of the fort. An Assistant Surgeon and a Chaplain should be appointed to, at least, every three villages, while in each should be stationed a medical subordinate. The Assistant Surgeon and medical subordinate might also be employed to spread the blessing of vaccination among the surrounding natives and have charge of a native dispensary or hospital. In addition to his purely spiritual duties, the Chaplain would be able to superintend the education of the district: for this purpose, village schools for the younger children, and a central academy at Head Quarters, for those of more advanced ages, should be provided. Attached to each village school, a native class should be established, having no communication with the other children. The senior Chaplain of the corps, in concert with the Colonel, would be held responsible for the effectual working of the education of the whole of the district occupied by the regiment. At the Head Quarter Academy, some useful trades and arts, together with Hindustanee

might be taught, in addition to the usual branches of education.

Every officer should be invested with magisterial and collectoral powers over the district adjoining his station, while the Colonel and Field Officers should occupy the position of Commissioner and Deputy Commissioners over the division occupied by their corps. Each officer should receive a grant of land proportionate to his rank, and on the same terms as the non-commissioned officers and soldiers. On promotion he should be allowed the option of either buying the estate of the officer he replaces, receiving a certain allowance from Government, which should be the difference of price, according to calculation between the grant of uncultivated land held by him before promotion, and the amount attached to his present rank; or of buying from Government at a certain fixed rate an amount of land equal to that attached to his former position, receiving a gratuitous addition sufficient to make the whole of the new estate equal to the acreage belonging to his increased rank. No officer should be appointed who has not been at least 7 years in India, and in 9 the service. He should be married, able to show himself the possessor of a sum not under 1,500 rupees, after deducting the expenses of his journey, he should have passed in Hindustanee, as well as have some colloquial acquaintance with the dialect of the district in which his colony is placed. After serving 20 years in the colonial corps, the grant of land in his possession at the time should become absolutely and entirely his own, provided, he shall have served at least four years in his present rank; otherwise he would receive only what appertained to that he last held. He should also, as a further boon, be allowed to retire on the full English pay of his rank, together with an honorary step of promotion.

An Inspector of Military Colonies should be appointed, who would report to Government as to their efficiency and proper working, also whether any officer from age, sickness, or inefficiency, was disqualified for his post. The Colonel of each corps would assist in this, by means of his yearly or half-yearly reports, addressed to the above mentioned Inspector.

The force should be under the direct control of the civil authorities, except in time of war. In each battalion 200 colonist Artillery men with four light 6 pounder guns, and two 12 pounder howitzers should be distributed among the different companies. These pieces of ordnance should be of as light a description as possible, so that their transport, when the corps took the field, could easily be managed by mules, ponies, bullocks, or coolies. If to the establishment of the battalion were added a strong troop



of 70 Colonist light dragoons and 60 horses, a corps complete in every respect would be the result. This troop could be stationed in a village on one of the lower ranges, not more than two miles from the plains, and in as central a position, as regards the other villages of the battalion as possible.

After the first nomination, promotion should go in the corps, both as regards officers and non-commissioned officers, with the exception of one third of the vacancies, which might be filled up by drafts from the regular army. All promotion should, for the sake of convenience, be confined, as far as possible, to the village or district where the vacancy had occurred. At the Head Quarter colony should reside the Regimental Staff. This would be composed of the Paymaster, performing, in addition to his other duties, those of Civil Treasurer, the Quarter master, also acting as Assistant Commissary General, the Surgeon, and the Adjutant. Of these, the Quarter master and the Adjutant would perform none but purely military services. A Captain and two Lieutenants from the Artillery should superintend the gun drill, take charge of the Ordnance stores, and, on the corps being called out, either for training or active service, officer the Field Battery. When not occupied by their special duties, they should be at the disposal of the commanding officer for employment, either, in a civil, or a military capacity, or in both combined. For example, they might conduct the survey of the district, and take charge of the roads, a task for which their previous scientific education would admirably fit them. As regards musketry instruction, one of the subalterns might be appointed to perform, in addition to his other duties, those of Instructor of musketry. The possession of a Hythe certificate should be an indispensable qualification for this post, and some extra pay should be attached to it. Promotion by brevet should be allowed to go on, and officers of the Colonist Corps should rank, and take command with those of the regular army, according to date of commissions. Leave should be granted as laid down in the new regulations for H. M.'s Indian forces, while pensions and compassionate allowances should be bestowed in accordance with the rules of H. M.'s service. This regulation of course is not to be taken as interfering with any vested interests regarding Indian pensions. The monthly pay of the officers of the colonist corps, to be as follows; Lieutenant 350 rupees; Captain 550 rupees; Major 900 rupees; Lieutenant Colonel 1300 rupees, with a command allowance of 400 rupees. The Regimental Staff should receive 100 rupees a month more than they would have obtained in the line, with the exception of

the Adjutant whose pay is already large, and who would have none but purely regimental duties to perform. The Regimental Staff should also receive grants of land according to their relative army rank. It may be observed that the rate of pay here fixed, is larger than that of the regular army, the Colonist Corps, moreover, receiving grants of land in addition. The reason for this apparent anomaly is to be found in the fact, that besides the military duties, in time of peace sufficiently light, the whole civil administration of the district would be performed by the officers of the corps; and that their promotion would be much slower than in the regular service. As regards the extra 100 rupees a month proposed for all the staff, with the exception of the Adjutant, it must be remembered that their labours would not be limited to duties of a purely regimental nature. For every three or four Colonist regiments, a Lieutenant Colonel of Artillery and one of Cavalry should be appointed. These officers should not interfere with the Infantry Lieutenant Colonels, except as regards matters specially belonging to their own branches of the service. On the regiments being called out for training, they should superintend the cavalry and artillery drill, and, on Colonist brigades being formed, would assume command of their respective arms. Their pay would only be, 1200 rupees a month consolidated, except in the field, or when called out for permanent duty, on which occasions, they should receive the pay and allowances attached to their rank in the regular service. The freedom from all civil duty explains the proposal of a rate of pay lower than that suggested for Infantry Lieutenant Colonels. The Captains and Lieutenants of Artillery and Cavalry, being employed in a civil as well as a military capacity, should receive respectively 120 rupees and 70 rupees a month over and above the pay of their rank in the regular army.

The cost of the scheme is now to be considered; and though we do not purpose to enter into intricate calculations on the subject, yet we do not hesitate to assert, that, considering that the officers would administer the civil government of the district, a very considerable saving would accrue to the State. The expense of the grants of land would be but trifling, while the pay and pensions would be less than that of a regiment of the line.

Besides these considerations, the passages home, as regards the men entering the Colonist Corps, otherwise requisite would be saved. Though much cheaper, such a corps would be, *cæteris paribus*, very nearly as efficient as a regiment of the line; indeed in some respects it would be more so. A series of such colonies,

located in strong positions, and consisting of men acquainted with the country in general, and the immediate neighbourhood in particular, acclimatized to India, if such a thing as acclimatization be possible, and of tolerably strong constitutions, as shown by their lasting through the previous line service, would be of incalculable benefit for the occupation of the country. Each battalion of such a corps, at all times complete in itself, and composed of men accustomed to natives, and many to Indian warfare would be equal to four times their number of Sepoys. During the absence of the battalions on service, the colonist villages, with their fortified keeps manned by invalids, those on the reserve list, and those bound to furnish feudal service, together with the independent English residents, would supply an important element of strength.

The inducements held out to the men would consist in the free grant of land; the pension—for their pay in the Colonist Corps would be virtually such—drawn throughout the period of colonist service; the comparative freedom from military restraint; residence in a fixed and healthy locality; the family allowances bestowed until the termination of the second engagement; and the great scope for industry and talent.

As to the officers the attractions are, we consider, quite sufficient to induce able men to join the corps. They are as follows: the grant of land; the high pay; and the settled home in a good climate, by which the expense and worry of marching, so great in the case of families in India, would be avoided; we use the term settled home, because the removals on account of promotion would neither be sufficiently frequent, nor to so great a distance, as to deserve mention. To married men with large families and who had been unfortunate in promotion, such a corps would offer great advantages.

By entering it, both officers and men would be able to reckon on providing comfortably and respectably for their wives and children. To government, the direct results of the scheme would be increased English agency in civil administration, and the establishment of an efficient force, costing little and supplying the place of native regiments; while those of a more indirect nature must be found in an improved state of the revenue arising from developed resources, increased production and a higher state of civilization—that best safeguard of our rule; in the tranquillity and consequent prosperity which would soon become apparent; in the inducement which the prospect of ultimate admission to such a corps, would hold out to the enlistment of a better class of recruits; in an extended acquaintance with the



natives, and their state of feeling; and lastly in the moral hold on the country, which the increasing English population would daily render more firm. Nor would the country itself, and the native population be without benefits from such a plan. We will indicate some of them. Increase of employment, the opening of many new branches of trade and agriculture; together with the improvement of those already existing; the establishment of many thousands of English homes, each acting as a little centre of civilization; the promotion of industry and enterprise by the increased strength of our rule; and, lastly, the cultivation of much land at present lying waste or but imperfectly tilled.

These are some of the advantages which may with confidence be predicted, as the consequences of the adoption of military colonization. Indeed the advantages both political and military, commercial and financial, appear to us so great, while the cost of an experiment would be so small, that it would be unworthy of Government to delay any longer making it. Success being, as we can scarcely doubt, the result, military colonies should be established throughout the whole of India. The distribution might be as follows. To the Punjab three might be allotted; one stationed in the hills near Murree; another in the Kangra district; and a third in one of the central ranges to the east of Jhelum and Rawul Pindee. At present there are in the Punjab about 10 regiments of British Infantry, 3 of Cavalry, and 9 troops or batteries of Artillery. Under the proposed system there would be added to the above; 3 Regiments of Colonist Infantry amounting to, from 2,500 to 3,000 men; 3 Troops of Light Dragoons numbering some 160 or 180 sabres; and 3 Field Batteries. Such a force, supplementary to the regular troops, would enable the Government to dispense with the present large native force, with the exception of some 10 Regiments of Infantry, 8 of Cavalry, and 2 Mountain Batteries, which would be required for frontier and escort duty. Nor would the three Colonist Field Forces be the whole of the strength substituted for the disbanded native corps; for from 15 to 25 villages in each regiment with their fortified keeps, would serve as so many *points d'appui*, so many places of refuge, and so much overawing force—if we may use the expression—with which to maintain our rule in the neighbouring districts. Assuming, therefore, that the colonists would furnish 3,500 men of all arms, ready at any moment to take the field, and reckoning 1,000 English, as equal to 4,000 Native Soldiers, 14,000 of the latter could be disbanded; and we should still be stronger than before by 15 or 25 village

forts garrisoned by the reserve force, invalids and volunteers, as well as by the moral influence of an increased and increasing English population. The reasoning and calculations applied to the Punjab, would also hold good in any other province, with the exception that the former requires a larger native force than would elsewhere be necessary as regards at least the Bengal Presidency; one colonist regiment might be stationed in the hills between Kalka and Simla, and one each in those of Rajmahal, Dehra and Darjeeling districts, while a fifth could be located among the isolated hills and ranges, so frequent in that part of Rajpootana where the Bengal and Bombay Presidencies touch. As regards Bombay and Madras we cannot venture even to suggest spots as suitable for military colonies, but we believe many—particularly in the Neilgherries—are to be met with well adapted to the required purpose. To each of these Presidencies, we would allot two Regiments. According to this arrangement the total number of colonist corps for all India, would amount to 12, varying in effective field strength from 700 to 1100 each, and giving a total of about 10,000 Infantry, 700 Cavalry, and 72 pieces of Artillery. This, by our former calculation of the relative value of English and Native Soldiers, would enable the Government to disband about 50,000 of the latter, while in compensation it would gain, besides the 12 Colonist Regiments, about 250 village forts sufficiently strong to resist a *coup de main* and to hold out until the arrival of succour. The distribution we have recommended would tend to reduce the Native Army of Bengal, in a much greater proportion than those of Bombay and Madras. This we consider advisable, on account of the inferior trustworthiness of the Bengal sepoy as compared with his Madras or Bombay comrade.

The companies of each Colonist corps being, at the utmost, only 25 or 28 miles from the Head Quarters—this last being invariably in the centre—the concentration of the Regiment could be easily effected. A simple system of telegraph communication, either electric or other being organized, the different companies could be collected, within 12 hours after the issue of the order from Head Quarters, and the baggage, camp equipage, and guns within 6 more. The troop of Cavalry, being only useful in the plains, should be ready to join the rest of the corps as it debouched from the hills. Each Regiment might easily be made as efficient as a moveable column, and horses be obtained for the Battery, by adopting the following arrangements. Every 8 privates and corporals should maintain among

them, 1 camel, or each take it in turn; each Sergeant 1 mule; each Lieutenant 1 mule and 1 draught horse; each Captain 1 mule and 2 draught or saddle horses; each Major, 2 mules and 2 draught or saddle horses; each Lieutenant Colonel, 2 mules and 3 draught or saddle horses. To aid in keeping up this transport establishment 2 annas per day should be allowed by Government for each animal. Provided they were kept tolerably efficient and in fair condition, the owners might be allowed to use them for any purpose they chose. No animal, destined for the use of the regiment should be purchased or changed, without the approval of the officer commanding the station, who, while instructed to make this obligation of providing transport as little irksome as possible, should be empowered to withhold the 2 annas a day if the animals were not kept in working condition. By this means provision would be made for the transport of baggage, camp equipage, and stores, as well as for the draught of the Battery. A monthly muster should be taken, on which occasion, those animals allotted to the baggage, should be loaded, and those destined for the Battery harnessed, the whole being taken for a march of one mile at least for the sake of practice. Each owner should be responsible that the different animals received a short training to fit them for their intended purpose; this together with the monthly and annual drills and musters, would make them fit to take the field at a moment's notice, in a tolerable state of efficiency; while a month on a campaign, in the charge of experienced hands, would render them perfect.

More than 12 such colonies, as we have described, could not be maintained at their full strength, nor perhaps is there sufficient reason why so many should be kept up. Let the number of these corps be proportioned to the supply obtainable. In the first place let one colony of one company be tried. If it prove a failure, the expense will not have been very great, nor would the experiment be totally devoid of benefit to the country. If, on the contrary, success attended the experiment, the number of colonies may gradually be increased, until they amount to 12 regiments, or as many as may be deemed advisable. The men attracted would, as a general rule, be those who either would not otherwise have remained in the service, or at best would have stayed but a short time longer; thus the regular army would not be injured.

Let us briefly recapitulate in a single paragraph, the advantages attendant on the adoption of the scheme which forms the subject of this article. It would act as an inducement to a superior description of recruits; it would be a strong motive to steady, sober, and saving habits in regiments on Indian



service; vast sums, now expended in providing passages home for discharged men, would be retained in the Treasury; it would furnish a veteran, yet healthy and efficient force, ready to take the field at any moment, and better able to resist the diseases incidental to a campaign, than one composed of those whose health had been impaired by a long residence in the plains; it would increase the civilization of the country, develop its resources and tend to the discovery of many at present hidden sources of wealth; it would strengthen our grasp of India, while permitting the disbandment of a large native force, thus relieving us of a very just cause for apprehension, and our exhausted treasury of a considerable expenditure; it would bring English capital to India; and lastly it would enable Government to have an increased English civil administration in the numerous and extensive districts occupied by the colonists. Some outlay would doubtless in the first place be necessitated, but not more than would be covered by the first two or three years' savings from diminished military expenditure. Some details of the scheme brought in the preceding pages to the notice of the reader would probably require modification, and others elaboration. Time and experience would be our best guides, as to the manner of carrying out a scheme never before attempted under similar circumstances. But should even a complete remodelling of the scheme be found necessary, it would not affect the principles we have sought to urge on our readers namely, that the establishment of military colonies in India, would both directly and indirectly increase our strength, augment our riches, and diminish our expenditure.

Considering the practical minds with whom by writing this article, we bring ourselves into contact, it was necessary that we should draw out a rough plan of details to show, the feasibility of the scheme we advocate, and that it claims to be something more than a mere speculative theory. Such must be accepted as an excuse for touching on questions of machinery, on which so many are able to give more valuable advice than ourselves. Even, however, should other means of carrying out the same project be adopted, we shall not regret having entered into that part of the subject, for our very mistakes will serve as beacons to guide the organizer to complete success. Grant but the principle and let any one have the credit of the machinery by which it is carried out. Such a field as India offers for English energy and capital can no longer be neglected, nor can the safety of the brightest gem in the British crown be left to dogmatical and worn out traditionary policy.

The native population of India may be compared to fire, a good and useful agent if kept under proper subjection, but at the same time a most dangerous element if neglected or permitted to gain the upper hand. That the profession of arms is not a safe outlet for their energies, is acknowledged by all save a few, who, unenlightened by the fearful warnings afforded by Indian history in general, and the late mutiny in particular, perceive no danger, in trusting the native with arms, and imagine consequently that none exists. An army liable at any moment to be excited to madness, for the slightest, the most childish, the most imaginary reasons; an army which hates, whilst it fears us; an army which is ignorant of the very name of loyalty; an army, the hostile races and sects of which are moved by different motives in a strong confederation of discontent against their rulers; an army which cannot be depended on even to consult its most obvious interests; an army whose revolt would receive the support of public opinion, and whose operations in case of rebellion would be openly favoured or secretly sympathized with by nine hundred and ninety nine out of every thousand of the population; an army of this description cannot be looked upon in any other light than that of a nuisance, one which cannot altogether be done away with, but which should be brought within the smallest possible compass. This may in our opinion be effected by improving our means of internal transport, and thus with a small number of troops enabling a strong force to be suddenly massed on any threatened point; and by the establishment of military colonies. This last measure besides affording military strength, would benefit the country in many ways; amongst others it would attract settlers and capital from England, and if our hopes are not deceiving us would inaugurate a new era for India. In 20 years' time this well nigh bankrupt country would become a rich, lightly taxed, yet highly productive dependency; adding equally to the wealth, strength, and reputation of the British empire. What is it now? a source of weakness to England, dependent on her for security, tottering on the verge of insolvency, and a source of well founded anxiety to all entrusted with its Government.

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ART. III.—1. *Report on the Mundla District South of the Nerbudda.* BY G. F. PEARSON, Capt., Superintendent of Forests, Jubbulpore Division.

2. *Manuscript Reports on different parts of Central India.*

EVERY one, who has paid even the slightest attention to such subjects, is aware, that there exists within the limits of British India, a vast area of which very little is really known. An inspection of our best maps, the sheets for instance of the Indian Atlas, will at once impress this fact on the mind of any one who entertains any doubts about its truth, and some idea of the immense extent of those unknown tracts may perhaps be best realized by finding in such Maps the words '*unexplored*,' or '*unfrequented and thinly inhabited jungles*,' spreading in widely separated letters over the paper, or perhaps still more forcibly by the eloquent silence of blank spaces.

Nevertheless, within this area lie lofty hills and wide valleys, broad plains and winding rivers, abounding in scenery whose picturesque beauty it would be very difficult to match; it almost all lies high above the sea level; many portions of it, now practically uninhabited, are extremely fertile, and not a few isolated spots possess advantages of climate, which, although they may not render them equal to our 'hill stations' or Sanatoria, yet give them a vast superiority over our ordinary cantonments as residences for Europeans; some such places will we believe be found well suited to the English constitution, and perhaps in a few instances may even become the permanent abodes of settlers of our race.

These vast jungle tracts have been penetrated here and there by an enterprising sportsman, or by some zealous missionary, and an occasional official has now and again found his way into them, when some exceptional duty has called for his presence far away from his ordinary beat; such explorers have left isolated records of their adventures and observations, some in the pages of the sporting Journals, some in those publications which are devoted to Missionary labors, while others and by far the most valuable are buried deep among the Records of Government. The Journal of the Asiatic Society also contains some papers of great



value and interest, such as those by Major Sherwill and Mr. Samuels, describing different parts of the jungle highlands of Hindustan, and the wild people who inhabit them; the ethnologists too have been busy in the same learned volumes. We believe indeed that the study of the aborigines of Hindustan has been pretty successfully prosecuted both physiologically and philologically. Notwithstanding all this, if we consider the immense extent of the subject, and the many points of interest which it presents, and if we remember the proverbially roving tendencies of Englishmen, and their usual readiness to give the public the benefit of their experiences, at least in these all-printing days, it will not, we think, be found unfair to assert that we know marvellously little of these mountain districts of British India.

The explanation, as we presume to be found in the fact that those qualified to collect the information, or likely to record it for our benefit, have been fully occupied in other and more important duties. All attention has been naturally enough absorbed by the tax paying and litigating dweller in the cultivated districts, while the man of the jungles, who paid nothing to the public treasury, and seldom appeared in the civil or criminal courts, remained almost unknown, and uncared for: in Bengal this was eminently the case, until the Sonthal, not long since, forced himself somewhat unpleasantly on the notice of the authorities.

It would be an interesting enquiry, but quite impracticable within the limits of an ordinary article, to ask how far the successive conquerors of Hindustan established their power over the inhabitants of the jungle tracts, or how far their influence was directly or indirectly felt within its limits. One thing is however evident, namely, that from the time of the great Aryan invasion, the physical capabilities of the land have always regulated the progress of civilization, and of the more civilized races in their advance over the country. The aborigines, or antecedent possessors of the soil were driven first from the great alluvial plains, and more fertile valleys. Nor would it seem that these ancient immigrants ever gained, perhaps they never even cared to seek, much control over the savage denizens of the hills and forests which on every side hemmed in their conquests. Subsequently, however, there was at least one way in which the masters of the rich plains were forced into contact with the wild people of the highlands: the roads from city to city necessarily often passed through parts of the jungle country; whenever this was the case, tolls, and black-mail were, as a matter of course, levied by the savages on the unhappy trader, these were, of course, equally

often made the pretext for exactions which must have had a most injurious effect on trade, and may in some cases have put an end to its very existence: we may moreover be sure, that bad as such spoliation must have been, it sometimes still further degenerated into open pillage and wholesale plunder and murder; we know indeed that this was the case, for we found it so, as British power extended itself from district to district throughout Hindustan; and some of our earliest intercourse with the jungle tribes was carried on by those officers, to whom the duty was entrusted of putting a stop to their depredations, and keeping open the principal lines of communication. For this purpose different plans were adopted in different parts of the country, to meet the varying conditions of each locality: Cleveland pensioned in the Damin-i-koh (better known as the Rajmahal hills,) the chiefs of tribes, and heads of villages, who have accordingly ever since received from five to twenty rupees a month from government: elsewhere in Behar and throughout central India, the leaders of gangs of plunderers, rather than hereditary chiefs were dealt with: they were made Ghatwals: a tract of land, sometimes a very large one, was given to the Ghatwal, either at a very low rent, or else rent free, and a regular stipend payable in money was afterwards added in lieu of his supposed right to the tolls above mentioned, and on the understanding that he should be held responsible for the safety of a certain length of road, and for all highway robberies occurring within a district agreed on. The Ghatwali, unlike the pensions of the Rajmahal men, was not hereditary, in theory at least: infraction of the conditions of the grant rendered it *ipso facto* vacant, and although we believe that in practice the son, or other heir generally succeeded to the dignity and emolument, yet the sanction of Government was always necessary. In each case the object which brought the British authorities into contact with the jungle people was to secure the safety of the principal roads; and the plans which they followed were crowned with a success so complete that in almost every instance the dangers which their negotiations were intended to meet have been entirely forgotten, and the continuance of the pensions and grants seems an anachronism in our times. Such negotiations, however, and the intercourse to which they gave rise, were from the nature of the case confined to a few localities, and of course left the highlands of Hindustan nearly as much a terra incognita as before.

It is not our intention to attempt any general description of so vast an area, our limits would not admit of it, nor do we indeed possess the necessary materials: we may refer the reader to

such papers as we have above alluded to, assuring him that they abound in interesting matter; and considering those and other such isolated records, as useful material for the construction of a still future history of the ancient inhabitants of Hindustan, we shall endeavour to add one more to their number, and trust that we shall do good service in calling attention to the contents of the document before us.

That portion of the vast area which we have called the highlands of Hindustan, to which we shall confine our remarks, includes the patch of country, which, on our maps, bears the names of Santpoora, Ghondwana, Mundla, Sohagpore, and Singrowlie. It is thus bounded on the north by the generally east and west line traced across the peninsula by the source of the Nerbudda and of the Soane rivers; and without undertaking to fix any definite limit for our area on the south, we shall not wander far in that direction; on the west, the course of the Taptee river might furnish us with a convenient and sufficiently definite boundary line; but to the east, we cannot find one, for the wild unknown tract extends far down towards the Madras Country, behind Chota Nagpore, and Orissa.

We shall then confine our remarks to the tract of country stretching east and west immediately to the south of the Soane and the Nerbudda valleys, and within these limits shall rather dwell on some selected localities than attempt to give any general descriptions. The whole is however very beautiful: it is hilly, almost mountainous, covered with fine forest jungle, and watered by streams and rivers which always contain running water: the scorching heat of May and June never burns up the grass, which is at all seasons fresh and green: game abounds, the gour (bison), buffalo, sambur (elk), the golden barasinga (lal sambur), the spotted deer, chikara, hog deer, benkra (jungle sheep) and ravine deer, hogs and hares are found almost every-where, and elephants in some places. Tigers too and leopards, bears, hyenas and wolves are for the most part plentiful: the tigers are so numerous in parts of this country as to have got the credit of having depopulated whole Talooks: Government indeed organized an expedition against them and an officer was actually appointed for the duty shortly before the mutiny broke out.

Many an exciting episode in the history of Hindustan has been played out in this jungle country, from the most ancient times down to the chase after Tantia Topee. From the base of the hills to the north the advancing tide of the Aryan immigration must have been often beaten back: and, although



we shall presently have to notice at least one case, in which the conquerors exercised power within our limits, yet even now, along the Nerbudda and Soane valleys, there is a sharply marked line of demarcation between the inhabitants of the fine alluvial flats which stretch along the banks of those rivers, and the denizens of the hilly country south of them. The aborigines perhaps long retained sufficient power to make outlying settlements among the hills, undesirable for the inhabitants of the plains, and a defensible frontier a necessity of self-preservation: whilst the wild tribes were themselves safe from all fear of invasion among the trackless forests, rugged hills and deep ravines, to which they could at a moment's notice retire, even if attacked in their few and scattered villages, and clearings.

Ethnology has, we are aware, subdivided these aboriginal inhabitants of Hindustan into many families: their language, we believe, warrants this classification, as do also some perhaps of their habits and religious peculiarities: the Hindus moreover speak of them as belonging to many different castes, such as Gonds, Coles, Bygars, Sonthals, Bheels, Bhoomeahs, Kurkurs, &c. notwithstanding which, to the unscientific traveller their similarities will far outweigh all such differences; he will infallibly treat them all as one people, or his first effort at classification will certainly be based on the greater or less admixture of the blood of the higher races, which he will not fail soon to notice here and there among them: utterly unable to distinguish a Gond from a Sonthal, or a Bheel from a Cole, he will at once seize on the palpable difference between the Gond inhabiting a village near the plains, and who evidently has Hindu blood in his veins, and his fellow Gond of pure extraction from the depth of the jungle fastnesses.

This method of ignoring the ethnological difficulties, which meet us, is eminently unscientific, but as it does no violence to facts, and will prove convenient in avoiding confusion, it may suffice for our purposes: the following passage from Captain Pearson's Report contains a good description of these people which may be considered as generally applicable, and which also will be found to contain a practical comment, on the advantages of our method of classification, or rather of ignoring subdivisions.

'The Gonds hardly require any description; they are in this part of the country, for the most part an exceedingly poor, miserable, indolent and unsettled race; far inferior as far as I have seen to the Beitul Gonds; cultivating in any spot but just enough to supply their personal wants; very timid, and I

'think, much kept down and bullied by the petty landowners,  
 'their own Thakoors: it is perhaps a misfortune for them  
 'that, owing to the extreme fertility of the soil, kodon, which  
 'is their staple article of food, is almost spontaneously produced;  
 '\* \* \* they wear the most infinitesimal portion of clothing,  
 'that it is possible to conceive, and subsist in a great measure  
 'on the natural produce of the jungles; \* \* \* they generally live  
 'in the most out of the way parts of the forest, and at the  
 'top of the very highest hills; \* \* \* they use no implement of  
 'agriculture whatever except the hatchet; \* \* \* they show  
 'considerable energy in cutting down very large tracts of jungle  
 'on the hill sides, where they invariably form their fields, burning  
 'the trees as soon as they are dry, and simply throwing down  
 'kodon and kootkee seed, at the commencement of the rains, in the  
 'ashes. This seed is left to come up of itself as it best can, with-  
 'out the slightest attempt at ploughing or preparing the ground  
 'in any way whatever further than I have described above, and  
 'when the crop has grown and ripened, such as has escaped the  
 'depredations of the deer and wild hogs is cut and stored for  
 'use. \* \* \* They never use the same spot twice, and in-  
 'variably select the sides of hills, for their fields, leaving un-  
 'touched the rich soil of the valleys. It is not less wonderful to  
 'behold the immense tracts of jungle, which they have cleared  
 'with their hatchets in the course of time, than the curious  
 'spots which they select for their fields and huts. I have seen a  
 'Bygar field on a ledge of rock, half way down the steep ghats  
 'overhanging Lumnee, with a precipice of 600 or 800 feet  
 'both above and below: and on a dark night, on the summit of  
 'the highest hill, one glimmering spark may often be seen  
 'showing the solitary hut of some Bygar, who has built his hut  
 'and formed his field there. \* \* \* I cannot find that  
 'the Bygars differ in any way from the Gonds in their man-  
 'ners and customs, but they are usually, I think, blacker in  
 'color and more athletic; they appear both to use the same  
 'ceremonies and to worship the same idols. At first on going  
 'near their villages they are usually very timid, but after a  
 'little encouragement they would often become very communi-  
 'cative and even confidential. I should call them a simple,  
 'harmless, and, I think, generally a truthful race: rather slow  
 'at comprehending any thing at first, but afterwards, when  
 'they understand it, showing considerable shrewdness in many  
 'respects, much more so than you would at first give them  
 'credit for.' p. 16,

It has been suggested from several considerations, some of which we shall have to notice presently, and is, we believe, pretty generally believed, that the Gonds once enjoyed a high state of civilization, or, at least, that they were once at a very much higher point in the scale of progress, than that at which we find them. The subject of the descent of any people in the scale of civilization, their degradation in knowledge of the arts of life is one full of interest: it has engaged the attention of many thinkers in our time, and has given rise to many diversities of opinion. Some assert that such cases occur frequently, or even that all savage nations were once in a state of comparatively high civilization: others, on the contrary, believe that if such cases ever occur at all, they are extremely rare, and that the amount of the real retrogression is always much less than is generally supposed.

Now within our area we find everywhere traditions of the golden days of the Gond Rajahs, when the district which is now an unprofitable waste produced great revenues: and when plenty, if not peace, blessed the valleys now overrun by dense jungle, and permanently tenanted only by the beasts of the forest. Captain Pearson shows (Report p. 39,) that these traditions are fabulous for the most part; but, in confirmation of at least a modified form of them, we find occasionally a case like that presented by the Talooka Mowye, which he thus describes at p. 29.

‘There are in this Talook some very remarkable remains of  
‘extensive irrigation, works of former days, there being a great  
‘number of tanks (said to be 120) round Mowye itself. These  
‘are, some of them, of considerable size, but they are generally  
‘much out of repair now. I was unable to obtain the least in-  
‘formation as to who constructed the tanks, or when they were  
‘made. The people attribute them to Rajah Bheem, a fabulous  
‘personage, whose “lat” I saw at Bheemlat. But there is in  
‘the jungle near Mowye what the people take to be a *fort*,  
‘but which seems to be nothing more than a mound of earth and  
‘burnt bricks, fifty or sixty feet in diameter and twenty or  
‘twenty five feet in height. There are several large masses of  
‘stone lying about, and it struck me as being something simi-  
‘lar to the Buddhist Topes at Sanchee near Bhilsa. If I am  
‘correct in my surmise, it is possible that the tanks were of the  
‘same date as the mounds here referred to, and that they were  
‘constructed by the Buddhists at a very distant period: more-  
‘over, I think that in Ceylon there are enormous irrigation  
‘works, now fallen into ruin, which were constructed by the

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‘Buddhists in former ages, and which would seem to point to a ‘similar origin for these.’ As to the date and origin of these tanks and mounds it would obviously be impossible for us to offer any opinion: the subject is not without interest from the point of view of the antiquarian: to us it only presents itself as part of the wider question above mentioned, namely the ancient civilization of the Gonds. It may have been a natural, but it is certainly a very hasty conclusion to arrive at, that, because these poor savages are now the sole inhabitants of districts where those ruins lie, they therefore erected the buildings of which the mounds prove the former existence, or that if they did build them, that fact can be taken as any proof of their having formerly attained a much higher state of civilization.

It is quite certain that formerly, (as is now the case in some neighbouring districts,) Hindus of the Baghel, Rajput, and Brahmin castes, established themselves in many parts of the Gond country, not as colonists in the ordinary sense, but as a kind of feudal chiefs. Such were the so called Gond Rajahs; such were also the freebooters who from being the terror of the traveller, became as we have before described, the pensioned protectors of the mountain roads. Ruled by these men of another race, the Gonds once no doubt, held a political position which they have long lost; they were respected, or at least feared by their neighbours; wealth was accumulated, and such structures as these tanks and mounds erected. But as to the Gonds themselves, it would be, we think, gratuitous to assume that any thing which can be justly called civilization had progressed to any considerable extent among them: their social condition may have been just as low as it is now, and, relatively to their alien lords, just as degraded as at present: their manners and customs, their religious rites, their ideas on such subjects as property, marriages, inheritance, personal liberty, all, in short, which goes to make up our idea of what is called civilization, may have been just what we find them; and thus, instead of considering the poor Gond as the degraded descendant of the men who built the tanks, and mounds, we are led to the conclusion that the real constructors of these and other monuments of the former existence of a higher civilization in Gondwand, were Hindus or Buddhists, belonging to the higher race—that race which in the Hindustan of our times represents the highest civilization to which the Hindu population has ever reached, and to which it probably attained even before the Bhilsa topes were thought of. Among the other monuments left, of the state of things to which we allude, the most striking are no doubt the hill forts so numerous

within our area: the position in which some of their remarkable ruins are found, suggest that they mark the site of castles and watch towers, created by the inhabitants of the plains, as defence against the predatory raids of their dangerous neighbours of the hill country: but by far the greater number of them were unquestionably the strong holds of the robber chiefs themselves, built to facilitate their forays and protect themselves and their ill-gotten spoil.

Saoligurh, Baorgurh, Jamgurh, Asseer, Bandugurh and countless others, are perched on the summit of some naturally almost inaccessible eminence; very little artificial assistance made the one only possible approach easily defensible by a handful of men against a host of assailants; one or more tanks according to the requirements of the garrison completed the arrangements. Permanent buildings were not as a rule erected inside; in most cases one such is found, though sometimes the ruins prove the former existence of rather ambitious structures. One purpose which all these forts most probably served, and for which perhaps they were most frequently used, was as places of refuge in times of danger: they were the secure asylums to which the females and the treasures of their owners could be conveyed in the day of trouble. Legends of buried treasure are almost universally connected with them; and, indeed, with every probability of truth, if we remember that the habit of thus disposing of precious things, is, even now, universal in Hindustan, and that such places as these forts would naturally be favorite depositories. To justify the hopes of the treasure seekers we have only to suppose what must have not unfrequently happened, namely a successful surprise on the fort and a change of masters by a *coup de main*.

The stories which are still to be heard in connection with these forts, and with the wild passes of the hills around, abound in romance. The names of Jeswunt Rao, Ameer Khan of Tonk, Dowlut Rao, and other warriors of the houses of Scindia and Holkar, are still remembered here; the Bheel and Pindari wars furnish many a subject to the story teller; and the calamitous years 1857-58 have no doubt added their quota. It was however, prior to those days of accursed memory, that the writer of these pages used to listen to long-winded tales of Sir J. Malcom's campaigns, and there is no doubt, but that in the hands of a more zealous and intelligent collector the field would have yielded if not a rich harvest, at least plentiful gleanings. Alas! the Homer or the Walter Scott of Gondwana is still a coming man, and the heroes of these hills, must still remain content to share the silent glories of those brave men, who, as we are told, fought 'before Agamemnon!'

Many a sudden onslaught, well contested fight, and long sustained chase has been witnessed by these gorges and ravines; and the passes, through which communication was kept up between the Nerbudda valley and the Deccan, would be found prolific in traditionary records. These passes were frequently of great strategic importance and were always important commercially. They were dreaded by the unhappy trader of by-gone days: there he was mulcted of black-mail by the lazy lords of the hills. This was, we believe his fate until the Ghatwals, before alluded to, became wealthy pensioners, and, at least partially, abstained from the plunder and murder, which their idle dissipated descendants still bemoan as the noblest feature in their peculiar conception of the 'good old times.'

Before leaving this portion of our subject, which in our hands has assumed an aspect half antiquarian, half warlike, we cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of presenting the reader with a more detailed sketch of one hill fort, as a specimen of the rest. One of our Manuscript Reports will furnish the materials, and the place we select is rather a favorable type of its class, for it is still what they all once were, namely the strong-hold of a Hindu chief, who rules a considerable population of the hill tribes. It is still garrisoned by his ragamuffin sepoy, and is the place of safety of the females of his family and the treasures of his *Toshakhana*. Bandugurh may indeed claim to be one of the most ancient, one of the most famous, and, perhaps, the most mysterious of all the hill forts of India, at least, of all this part of Hindustan. It is situated in a wild hilly country covered with thick jungle, and itself sits on the summit of a grand mass of rocks, which towers several hundred feet above the highest peaks around. The great Akbar was born, history says, in a village near Bandu, but local tradition avers, in the fort itself: it belongs to the Rajah of Rewah, and its approaches are still kept sacred from the foot or even the eye of the Feringhi.

In 1855, we saw, among the old records of the Quartermaster General's office of the Sagur Division, some accounts of Bandu, compiled from the reports of the Hurkarus of the department, the palpable exaggerations of which at all events attested the vigilance with which prying curiosity was kept from too close inspection; and the scanty information even now possessed by the political officers of the adjoining provinces, especially if combined with the impossible caricature inserted, as a representation of Bandu, on the Indian Atlas sheet, by some highly imaginative typographer, does not, we venture to think, go far to correct, or even materially modify the Munchausen-like stories



told about the place by the Rajah's people: these stories state it to be not only a virgin fortress, but absolutely impregnable; it is said to be surrounded on all sides by a morass (daldal) deep enough at the driest season to be impassable by elephants, the only means of crossing which (an artificial causeway of stone always hidden by the water) is kept a profound secret: besides which, the approaches to this causeway from the land side, are defended by fortified buildings, which in their turn, as well as the whole of the causeway itself, are commanded by the guns on Bandu. The garrison is asserted to be always immensely numerous and fully equipped, provisions and ammunition in vast quantities always in store, and the supply of water quite inexhaustible. When numbers and quantities come to be given in figures, these always assume proportions worthy of Rabelais himself.

Local tradition, moreover, states, that Bandu was once the highest hill in all Hindustan, if not in the world, overtopping the loftiest peaks of the Himalaya: so high indeed, that the lamp of Ram placed thereon was visible in Ceylon. In order to deprive the island hero of whatever advantage may be supposed to have been derivable from the sight, his great rival one day, by the advice of Luchmee, placed his hand on Bandu, and pressed it down to its present level, in doing which he caused the fosse or depression all round which forms the existing daldals, whose unfathomable depth corresponds to the vastness of the displacement above.\*

In addition to the above myth, tradition tells us, that, within the historic times, Bandu once sustained a twelve years siege. Some illustrious warrior invested the fortress, and having eaten a mango on the day of the first assault, and having put the stone thereof into the ground at his tent door, he kept up a strict blockade on the beleaguered place, until the seed had grown to a tree and he had eaten of its ripened fruit. For several of the later years of this siege the defenders were wholly dependent for food, on the crops raised by themselves in the enclosed space above, which, however, sufficed to supply the wants of numbers ample for the defence. The area is really considerable, and no doubt a very small number of resolute men could hold such a place

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\* Should the learned reader detect in this bald version of a local legend, the tortured misrepresentation of some well known episode of classic Hindu mythology, the writer has only ignorance of the Hindu pantheon to plead as his apology. He gives the story as the author of the report heard it on the spot, only taking the liberty of condensing the rigmarole, and mercilessly rescinding all the expletives and superlatives.

against almost any number of assailants, both sides being supposed to be armed and to fight, as those, who have hitherto defended and attacked Bandu, have fought and been armed. Whether the resources of modern warfare would materially modify the relative strength of attack and defence, and, if so, with which side the advantage would rest, we are unfortunately unable even to conjecture.

Bandu hill is formed of a tabular sandstone, the very massive and thick beds of which are inclined with a gentle slope to the east or north-east, so that the flat surface at top also slopes in that direction. This plateau ends on all sides in a vertical escarpment, which varies in height from 100 feet to 200 feet: the space at the summit is about a mile long from east to west, and less than half a mile broad from north to south, at its broadest part which is near the western end; the total height above the daldal is a little more than 1000 feet, and a steep talus, overgrown with thick jungul, extends up to the foot of the vertical escarpment which bounds the flat surface above. With regard to the absolute continuity of this escarpment we cannot speak positively; for, although our indefatigable explorer succeeded in making observations from all sides, the extreme jealousy with which a European is watched and kept at a distance, prevented those observations from being sufficiently accurate to warrant definite assertions on this point, and very nearly succeeded in baffling his attempt in making them, even to a partial extent. One thing however he did effect, namely, the exploration of the mysteries of the daldals. It needed an effort of some vigour, even for a tolerably stout pedestrian, fairly to outwalk the long-legged piyada sent to dog his steps, and prevent him from getting near the fort; this, however, he at last succeeded in doing, by taking him up and down hills and through the jungle, all the while obstinately declining every path; once well ahead of his watchful attendant, he made straight for the nearest point of Bandu hill, and soon reached the morass.

Most of the valleys within several miles to the south, are swampy, and it was evident on close inspection, that the daldals of Bandu were not a special or exceptional case, but, on the contrary, similar to those elsewhere seen, a familiar acquaintance with the general features of which at once suggested that, regard being had to the form of the ground, this one, as well as others like it, might probably be fordable; apparently without any better motive than a strong inclination to do what was so pertinaciously forbidden, our explorer at once walked into the water, and had, after a little poking about, the satisfaction of soon finding

himself at the other side of the unfathomable abyss without having wet his waistband, this too was in February, by no means the driest season. It must however be admitted, that the question of the impregnability of the place is not radically affected by this exposure of the exaggerations concerning the depth of the daldal, for the talus was found to be high, steep, and covered with dense jungle; and at the point reached, the escarpment above was utterly unscalable.

When just now we stated that Bandu hill rises high above *all* those near it, we should have made an exception in favor of Banenia. This hill is generally treated as part of Bandu, and a line of defensible posts runs round it; it is, however, separated from the main mass by a glen, nearly as deep as the outer valley, and from its summit to the nearest point of that of Bandu, may be nearly a mile. It stands to the west of that hill, and although of about equal height, has only a very small flat space above; no daldal separates it from Bandu, or cuts it off from the ground to the west; no vertical escarpment renders its summit easily defensible like that of its neighbour, and its artificial defences seem by no means formidable. Whether assailants in possession of Banenia would have gained a position formidable to the defenders of the great fort, we cannot decide. It has been already stated that the summit surface of Bandu slopes to the east; it, of course, thus presents its highest portion to Banenia; and it would hence seem, that guns placed on the latter, could not be pointed so as to command, or sweep the surface of the former. On this subject we of course can offer no definite opinion, but leave the facts to speak for themselves.

Bandugurh and some one or two others of the hill forts of our area, of which we have taken it as a type, are nearly if not quite equal as fortresses to such places as Kalleenjor, Ramgurh &c. which proved so troublesome during the mutiny campaign. But none of the former were, as far as we are aware, ever manned, or in any way made use of during the disturbances.

We stated at the commencement of this paper that portions of our jungle tract lay high above the sea level, and were especially adapted by climate and other conditions for the residence of Europeans. As a typical instance of such localities we select a place called Puchmurri, and shall now proceed to give a short account of it.

Near the culminating point of that range of hills, which, following a nearly east and west direction, runs along between the valleys of the Nerbudda and Taptee rivers, there is a little plateau, with an area of some five or six square miles, situated at



about 4000 feet above the sea. Its surface is formed of undulating grass land, dotted over with scattered groups of well grown trees, and on it stands a solitary Gond village; this is Puchmurri. The park-like aspect of the place, to which the smooth green turf and fine trees so largely contribute, is enhanced by the rugged beauty of the bold rocky masses, three of which rise in peaks each about 1000 feet above the plain itself, as well as by the deep ravines and dark gorges which bound it on three sides: the grassy slopes above are in fine contrast with these glens, formed as they are of bold rock bluffs and precipices, with forest glades alternating or rather mixed together, in the most picturesque confusion. The scenery which they present, and which indeed extends for many miles to the east, south, and west, is of surpassing beauty and variety. A great deal has of late been said and written on the subject of sanatoria, enough, perhaps, to render it a wearisome one to most readers; we hasten then to announce that there is, in the present instance, no need for alarm, inasmuch as we have nothing to say about sanatoria here. Puchmurri has, it is true, been reported on officially as a site for a sanatorium. We have seen several such reports, and have one of them before us: this last, written by a gentleman with whose views we altogether agree, assumes that the climatal and other conditions which fit any place to be a sanatorium, properly so called, ought to offer the strongest attainable contrast to those of ordinary stations on the plains, and asserts that in his opinion Puchmurri does not meet such requirements. This is, we conceive, a just and important distinction to draw, for the real advantages presented by such a climate as this of Puchmurri, is not that it is capable of renovating the frame of a European, whose health has sunk under the debilitating influence of long residence in our Indian heat, but that the constitution of an European, permanently resident in such a place, would never need any renovation at all, any more than it would were he living in the south of Europe. There is an old proverb about prevention and cure, which it is, we presume, unnecessary to quote, in order to point the moral of these remarks.

Our reporter characterizes the climate of Puchmurri as having a general similarity to that of some of our best stations, such as Sagur. The very important superiority which he claims for the former consisting in a lower temperature at all seasons, cool nights throughout the year, and freedom from the extreme heat of April, May, and June: these are considerations which we think may fairly be supposed of weight sufficient to give the place the strongest claims on the attention of Government. Nor need

Puchmurri rest its case on these alone, it has others to which we shall now revert.

It has, been we believe, and we have heard still is in contemplation, to erect central India into a separate province, with a Lieutenant Governor, or chief commissioner of its own. Under this arrangement Nagpore would be joined to the Sagur and Nerbudda territories, and we may be permitted here to record our hope that the able and successful officer who has so long and so well managed the latter district, may be the first incumbent of the new dignities. Be the new governor, however, who he may, we beg to urge on his consideration the advantages, which Puchmurri presents as a site for his Sudder station.

Besides its climate, which we submit is a consideration of incalculable importance, it has the advantage of being almost geometrically the centre of the new province; the following being in round numbers the distances at which the principal stations lie: Sagur 100 miles to the north, Kamptee (Nagpore) 100 miles to the south, Hosungabad 80 miles to the west, Jubbulpore 90 miles to the east. Beitul on the south west, Chindwarra on the south east, Seoni and Nursingpore on the east, are all nearer to Puchmurri than the nearest of the above mentioned places, while Dumoh on the north east and Sehore on the north west are about as far off as Sagur.

Stationed on the healthful heights of so truly central a place as Puchmurri, it is evident that a compact body of European troops could command all parts of the surrounding district, with a greater economy of numbers, of labor, and of the risk of life than would be possible from any other point within the same area. The chief civil officer if stationed here, would be within the shortest practicable distance of the aggregate of his subordinates, which would, we presume, be considered a convenience; his courts of appeal would be at the point nearest the average majority of suitors, which would certainly be a public benefit; while that officer himself, and the staff of Europeans which must inevitably collect round the central administrative authority of a great province, as well as the British troops required for its security, would all enjoy in this fine climate a European health, and their mental as well as their physical vigour would be kept at a high standard.

Puchmurri, moreover, is easily approached from the north, and a carriage road might very readily be made on that side. The ghats on the south and west are more difficult and could be made passable by wheels only at a considerable expense, while on the east we believe no ghat exists. Should there ever be a station

nere, none, that we know of, will possess any thing like such advantages in the important matter of picnics ; advantages which the climate will render available well nigh throughout the year. Then, among other attractions, there is the great annual Mela or fair, held just under the south escarpment, near enough to be easily visited, far enough off to be incapable of becoming a source of annoyance to the station : there are also the sacred caves, and holy places, from which the Puchmurri block of hills gets the name of Mahadeo ; these might become objects of romantic interest, even to the ladies of the future station, if only the resident Byragis could be induced to condescend slightly to increase the amount of their wearing apparel. The grape vine and orange would no doubt flourish here ; European vegetables would certainly thrive, at least as well as at Sagur and Jubbulpore, and the immigrant malis would find abundance of soil for all that they could be required to furnish. One of the cheapest corn countries in Hindoostan lies within a few miles to the north, along the banks of the Nerbudda, and such supplies of live stock &c. as the Bundelas on that side did not furnish, would soon be supplied by the now hopelessly savage Gonds from the hills around.

We have described the plateau of Puchmurri as prettily wooded, and we trust that the first officer who may have authority in such matters, will levy a heavy fine for every tree felled, or establish such other regulations as shall succeed in protecting the timber ; and that in allotting building sites, and laying out roads, he will make every effort to preserve the ornamental trees ; for if every one is permitted to cut away the timber as may suit his fancy, one of the chief beauties of the place will be in considerable danger of being lost. Nor let the reader hastily suppose, that, in venturing to urge so apparently common-place a suggestion, we are fighting with a phantom or guarding against an imaginary risk : he would acquit us of the charge of fanciful nervousness were he ever to see that dreariest looking of all pleasant places, Chirra Poonjee. At the time of our visit to that finest climate of all our hill stations, most of the residents were enthusiastic gardeners ; floriculture was a perfect rage. The mania was distinctly traceable to the then recent visit of doctors Hooker and Thomson, whose wonderful Rhododendrons, and beautiful air plants were, we must admit, well calculated to fire the enthusiasm for practical botany, which then animated the little station.

The most active of the amateurs, with a bitterness of regret with which we could fully sympathise, told us, that when first inhabited by Europeans, the little plain of Chirra, now perfectly



bare of vegetation, was well wooded, but that the gallant officer in charge, having some theoretical views on the subject of the insalubrity of jungle, and being withal of an energetic and practical turn, had eradicated every twig within reach: since when, no one had succeeded in getting trees to grow again. My informant was himself painfully endeavouring to rear a few plants round his house, and he has, we believe, since succeeded, in spite of the two-fold discouragement of a bare slab of sandstone beneath, wherein his trees might strike root if they could, and a fall of 600 inches of rain per annum, to fertilize the unpromising footing on which they feebly clung: how it had fared with the indigenous vegetation we are unable to conjecture. This is no doubt an extreme case, but were Puchmurri to meet the fate of Chirra Poonjee, we believe that considerable difficulty might be experienced in replacing the groves which now adorn its grassy slopes.

We take leave of Puchmurri, with the wish rather than the hope, that it may shortly meet at the hands of the authorities the attention it undoubtedly deserves; confident that, if it should do so, its claims to become the site of the European head quarters of central India must be recognized as irresistible.

Thus far we have been occupied, first, with Bandugurh, which we took as a type of the hill forts, that form so characteristic a feature in that portion of the great jungle highlands which forms the subject of this paper; next, with Puchmurri, which may be considered a fair specimen of the general character of some of the culminating points of the highest ridges of the same wild country, and one instance of the great advantages which some of these present for the location of European military posts, and official colonies. We shall now proceed to give some account of a third place, which we select as an example of what forms a not inconsiderable aggregate portion of our whole area, of such places, namely, as, offering other and very different conditions from those described as obtaining at Puchmurri, are calculated to invite the European commercial settler. Of these Ummurkuntuk and parts of the Mundla district, will furnish a favorable case, and we shall have the advantage of again recurring to Captain Pearson's interesting Report. The following passages descriptive of the scenery and climate will give the reader a better idea of them, than we could hope to convey to him in our own words.

'The general character of the country between Mundla and the Rajahdhar ghat, is a series of elevated plateaux, rising one above the other gradually from the river to the line of hills

‘which bound the plains of Raipore. These plateaux are separated from each other, by low lines of ghats covered with thick jungle; the plateaux themselves being, for the most part, open prairies covered with long grass, and watered by numerous streams. \* \* \* \* In April all these rivulets contain streams of running water, and I was told by the natives that they never run dry, even in the hottest seasons. As a greater elevation is reached, the country becomes more hilly, and vast forests of Sarrye tree are met with. Here the climate is excellent, and scenery of a description which India so seldom affords, of hill and vale studded with magnificent timber, and every variety of landscape, delight the eye.’ p. 1-2.

Again, speaking of part of the same district, he tells us, that ‘from the elevation the nights are always cool; indeed dew falls almost every night even in the hottest months, and the foliage is consequently always green, and the growing grass always springing. This at the present time (April) forms splendid grazing lands for large herds of cattle’ p. 3. Of Ummurkuntuk itself he thus writes:

‘The climate appeared to me to be singularly delightful, during the short time I was there. I can scarcely imagine, and have seldom experienced any thing more grateful after the hot and violent winds on the plains below, than the mild soft balmy feeling of the air up here in the mornings and evenings at this season (April—May); while the nights, though by no means so cold as in the valleys below, are yet quite sufficiently cool to ensure an invigorating rest. The heat in the day time was never in the least oppressive \* \* \* and although the mean temperature of Ummurkuntuk is somewhat higher than the average of the plain immediately below it, yet the variation was 10° less:—

‘The scenery on the plateau is not generally of a striking character, but there is a fine view to the south over Summee, as well as east from the bluff which overlooks the plains towards Sirguja. The ravine at Kuppaldhara, where the Nerbudda falls over a basaltic cliff somewhat under 100 feet high, is very wild and well worth visiting, as also is the valley of the Johilla, on the further side of the of the plateau. But the green grass, and green woods in the Sone Bhudder, and some of the smaller valleys, are what appeared most gratifying and refreshing to my eyes.’ p. 13-14.

It would be easy to multiply descriptions taken from the Report of many parts of the Mundla distret, the whole of which is full of picturesque variety. The height above the sea varies

from 1400 feet, to 3600 feet, then the Bunjur valley is 1400 and up to 2000; Hallar and Bormeyr from 1800 up to 2200, and the valleys of Kurmeyr and Seoni, from 2500 up to 2800. The plateau of Ummurkuntuk is set down at 3600, some hills rising a few hundred feet above it. Of the general agricultural capabilities of the district, the reporter has the highest opinion: the valleys are all of the richest black earth, and fine fertile soil spreads up into every glen, wide enough to afford a flat surface whereon it could rest; and his praises of the abundance of running water and the fresh greenness of the grass frequently recur. Again, speaking farther of the Ummurkuntuk plateau, he says, 'the soil is every where of a rich black description; \* \* \* all that portion of it lying north of the Nerbudda has been recently given to the Rewah Rajah, but the south bank is still British territory. It is well sheltered and has a gentle slope down to the river, and is composed of rich black soil: it appears to me to offer a very favorable situation in case it was desired to try as an experiment whether the tea plant would thrive in these hills.'

In this plateau of Ummurkuntuk the Nerbudda river rises:— 'For so large a stream it does not make by any means a striking entry into the world. For a considerable distance above the temples, there are numbers of puddles, any one of which might stand for the source of the river. But at the one which does duty for the source, there is a stone tank about thirty feet square, in a corner of which is a small temple in which the Bramuns state the spring exists. There appears, however, no visible sign of it. For some distance below the tank, the water is dammed up into biggish puddles by small mud banks, and the Byragis and other disreputable parties who frequent the place, seem to pass the greater portion of their time in dabbling in the water.'

It is a curious comment on the peculiar view of British rule in India, which circumstances can sometimes force on the consideration of even the bigoted and degraded representatives of the Hindu religious world, that these 'disreputable parties,' as our reporter irreverently calls the holy guardians of this sacred place, are 'loud and bitter in their groans against the British Government, for having made Ummurkuntuk over to the Rewah Rajah: who, they state, will make them disgorge part of the profits, which, they derive from pilgrims who visit the shrine, and of which, under our government, they derive the whole benefit.'

The valley of Lumnee is one of the finest in the district; it forms a sub-Talook of Mundla, and contains about 100 square



miles. 'It is situate at the extreme eastern corner of the district, at the south side of, and beyond the principal ghat range. It is like a basin, lying half way down the ghats on the further side, and, as it were, surrounded by them; the promontories of Chowradadur and Ummurkuntuk towering some 1500 feet above it to the north, and another broken portion of the range dividing it from the Kalacotie plain, which lies below it to the south. Except Lumnee itself, and two or three small Bygar villages, there are no inhabitants in the valley: but it is full of dense jungle, and in the rainy season is represented as a great place of resort for all kinds of wild animals especially wild buffalos and elephants. The elevation of the valley is about 1000 feet above the sea, \* \* \* \* the soil appears to be very rich, and it is well watered by numerous streams, and I think it probable that it would prove, if cleared of jungle, an exceedingly desirable site for coffee cultivation.' p. 15.

The climate of all that part of the country has got a very bad reputation, fostered, as Captain Pearson tells us, by the whole race of subordinate government employés, who dislike being sent out so far into the jungles. But besides this, the bad character of the place has gained credit among Europeans, in consequence of the sad fate of some German missionaries, who were some years since established at a place near Karunjeah, 10 miles west of Ummurkuntuk, by Major Macleod, to form the nucleus of a colony; three out of five of them died: here is Captain Pearson's account of them.

'The situation chosen was in all respects save one, excellent; about 2700 feet above the sea, four miles south of the Nerbudda, and commanding a fine plain of rich soil stretching down to that river. But strange to say, in a country so abundantly traversed by numerous streams of excellent water, these people seem to have pitched on a spot, where they were full two miles distant from the nearest stream of running water, and their entire dependance for this most necessary article, was on a wretched little circular tank of stagnant muddy liquid, which would be quite sufficient to poison any one who drank it.'

But besides this fatal error, in itself abundantly sufficient to account for all their misfortunes, these ill starred strangers were surprised by the rains before they had completed their bungalows, and thus, 'with no proper house over their head, with bad food and no proper water, added to the cold, which, at that season, is no doubt considerable here, they must have got bowel complaints, which, far away from medical aid, must have got worse and worse; at last three of them died; and thus most

‘unfortunately, but most unjustly, this climate got into a bad ‘repute’ p. 17.

Captain Pearson again and again in the Report, gives it as his opinion, that the fears entertained of the salubrity of the climate are utterly unfounded, and insists, that if sites be judiciously selected, the jungle, where there is any too near, cleared away, and common attention paid to shelter, and the water supply, it will prove perfectly healthy; and he, more than once, strongly urges the expediency of building some houses on one or more of the higher uplands, to which invalid soldiers from Jubbulpore might be sent for change of air. Of the climate of the upper Lumnee valley he gives the following description. ‘In April and May the ‘nights were always cool, generally calm; during the first half of ‘April a cool east wind prevailed during the first half of the day, ‘when it veered round to the north west, and blew sometimes ‘hot and strong during the afternoon. Later in the month the east ‘wind ceased, and it blew gently and cool from the northward ‘in the mornings, but about 11 A. M. the wind set in with violent gusts, from the west and north west, accompanied by clouds ‘and heat, threatening rain, but it cleared toward sunset and became calm and pleasant; from October to February the frosts ‘are very severe, the ground being covered with a white coat of ‘hoar frost, and this is one of the reasons why I think Lumnee, ‘which is lower and more sheltered, would answer better for ‘plantations than the upland country; at all events this is a ‘point that should be practically ascertained; dew certainly falls ‘every night over the uplands, on some nights more, on some ‘less; differing much according to the locality, the heaviest falls ‘being in the narrow valleys; to the dew of course must be ‘attributed the verdure of both grass and trees on the plateau.’

These quotations will have given some idea of the country and of its climate, but they do great injustice to the subject, and still greater injustice to the admirable sketches contained in the Report of which they form part, and to which we once more beg to refer the reader for fuller details.

The Mundla district has long enjoyed unenviable notoriety as one of the worst in all India for tigers. To them indeed has been attributed the depopulation of whole Talooks. A party of men (no one ever thinks of going alone) passing along the most frequented roads, must be pretty numerous; the men must keep their cattle, if they have any, close together; they must shout as they go along, and straggling, be the straggler man or beast, is considered fatal. Both men and cattle are stated frequently to be carried away at midday from the middle of the villages:

and so serious did these ravages appear to the authorities, that the commissioner of the Sagur and Nerbudda territories some years since, sought and obtained the sanction of Government for the appointment of two officers, who were to make systematic war on the Mundla tigers: the important matter of pay and allowances was settled, elephants, beaters, and native shikaris arranged for, the expedition organized and actually started: it was found, however, that nothing commensurate with the trouble the expense, or the grandeur of the preparations, could in this manner be effected. This district may for hunting purposes, be considered as one vast jungle, out of which of course no wild animal could be beaten by any conceivable number of elephants or coolies, so that the old native plan of the *gara* and *machan* was the only one by which a shot could be obtained. We may explain, that this consists in sitting up at night in ambush, near the carcass of a beast killed by a tiger, who always returns, after a few hours interval, to gorge on his prey: a plan which can be tried only about the full moon, with any chance of success.

Now although many people have no doubt been killed by tigers in Mundla, the reports on which the above account is based, were proved by Captain Pearson to be gross exaggerations. After travelling backwards and forwards through the length and breadth of the country, he tells us at p. 30, that he can safely acquit the tigers 'of having any thing whatever to do with the 'depopulation of the district.' Tigers of course there are, and they sometimes do mischief, but they 'certainly are not worse 'than in Seoar or Beitul,' districts to the west, where no one has ever pretended that they interfered with the question of population. Further on he sums up thus; 'the Gonds and Bygars 'are continually prowling about, in a perfectly heedless way, 'through the densest jungle, with only an axe on their shoulders, and, of course, they sometimes get knocked over; but I 'only came across three or four places in the district where 'there was a regular '*Leidut*,' as it is called, and although 'a Gond village may perhaps be deserted on this account, it 'must be remembered, that it does not take much to make a 'Gond change his location, as they seldom if ever stop in one village over three years.' Our own experience in the adjoining districts goes to confirm every statement here made. The way in which these jungle men pass most of their time is well described as heedless prowling; they really wander about very much in the manner of wild beasts, without object or intention, alone or in couples, the only exception to their listlessness being, when, with their eternal hatchet, they chop at and wantonly disfigure,



or if unusually actively inclined, cut down altogether, the most promising young trees they can find. It rots where it falls, and not once in a hundred times do they make any use whatever of even a leaf. But if it is not a matter of surprise that these fellows sometimes get knocked over, how much less need we wonder at the fate of the Bhat, or conjuror, who Captain Pearson tells us, was supposed to possess the power of shutting up tigers' mouths, when, he goes on to say that, he 'got himself devoured' one day while practising his dangerous calling.' On the whole perhaps, after hearing what our reporter has to tell us, of the modifications which we must apply to the old stories, the reputation for tigers may prove rather an attraction than otherwise to the European.

On the subject of European colonization the Report treats at some length, and contains information to which, at no distant period, attention will, we believe, be most seriously directed. The reporter estimates the land available for agricultural purposes, in that part of Mundla which lies south of the Nerbudda, at 1350 square miles *for the best land*. This first quality land is thus distributed: 300 square miles in the plateau immediately below Ummurkuntuk; about 300 square miles round Rajgur Bichia, of which part of Mundla we shall extract a short notice from the Report presently: the remaining 750 square miles are distributed among the minor valleys, scattered at various levels throughout the mountain ranges, all over the district: and these patches vary in area from 4 or 5, to 20 and 30 square miles in each valley. (see page 37).

The best land for agriculture would also be best adapted to pasturage, and as the whole district is estimated to contain 4106 square miles, there remain 2756 square miles, which are principally slopes and hill sides covered with forest jungle.

Besides his suggestions for tea, coffee and cotton planting, in special localities, the reporter informs us that wheat, barley, chenna, and mussoor grow luxuriantly with a minimum of cultivation, and that flax-growing has been most successful in the few places where it has been tried. He has no doubt but that oats would grow admirably, and that from the abundance of the supply of water, and the richness of the soil, sugar would prove a very profitable crop: rice as requiring less labour in the cultivation, and kodon and kootkee requiring none at all, are now the favorite crops. He dwells on the extraordinary facilities for irrigation, which he believes a small expenditure would make very profitable, he indicates the forests as a source of profit not only for their timber, but their gums and lac: he believes iron

could in some places be profitably worked, not on a great scale for exportation, but so as to supply all local requirements, even when these should be vastly increased. But before all these, he insists that the European settler should first of all direct his efforts to cattle-breeding, and the rearing of sheep, poultry, and horses. As we shall have to return to this subject, we shall leave further remarks until then, and add one more suggestive quotation from the Report, selected as descriptive of one of the most favorable spots in the district, for the hopes of the European colonist. It refers to Rajgur Bichia above mentioned. 'The southern portion of the valley south of Bichia, is most excellent, and would form a most desirable settlement for any European who wished to take a grant of land in Mundla; the locality about Munglee, is the one which seems to me the best. It is admirably supplied with streams of running water, which is also everywhere near the surface, the soil is excellent, the climate, I think, perfectly healthy, although on this subject I would of course, speak somewhat diffidently. There is a broad belt of Saul forest which extends along the north west end of the valley for several miles, and which appeared to me to have the effect of cooling the hot winds at this season (April, May), as while west of this belt they blow fiercely, I never felt a warm blast to the leeward of it: \* \* \* \* there is abundance of good timber in every direction, and there is not a single landed proprietor in the neighbourhood to interfere with \* \* \* \* between Bichia and Rajahdhar, which is certainly one of the finest portions of the Mundla district; there are scarcely half a dozen villages all the way up the valley for 30 miles. Another advantage to the settler would be that he would be 50 or 60 miles nearer Mundla, and, consequently, to a market for his produce, than at Pertabgurh or Lumnee. The country is perfectly lovely at this season along the river, and the clumps of Sarrye trees, interspersed with young green grass give it quite a park-like appearance; while herds of red deer, basking in the morning and evening sun, add much to the beauty of the scenery. \* \* \* \* \* The road from Jubbulpore to Raepore passes by Bichia, and up this valley to Rajahdhar, and it is a very important line of communication in a military point of view, and likely to become so commercially.'

Finally, as evidence of the general fertility of the country, and of the extreme facility with which, almost without cultivation, the fruits of the earth can be obtained. 'I will only mention, that as soon as my regiment arrived at the foot of the Rajahdhar

‘ghat, in April 1858, we found rice, wheat, dhall, and chenna, all selling for 100 seers the rupee, measured out in heaped up baskets; and at this very time the regiment and all its camp followers were supplied, at an enormous expense, with every seer of flour by the commissariat.’—p. 8.

We can add of our personal knowledge, that, in another part of the district, three maunds of jhow were in May 1861, (this famine year to wit) sold for the rupee.

With the above quotation we may close our description of the facilities which may be expected in the prosecution of some scheme of European colonization in the Mundla district.

The establishment of a small colony under the protection of Government, and managed by a salaried official, has been suggested, as also military colonization, on the system of the Hungarian ‘Greutz Regimenter.’ We have to confess our ignorance of the organization or duties of this last mentioned body; but even, without knowing any thing of the advantages which it possibly might present if we only knew them, faith in first principles is, for once, strong enough to prejudice us against that, among all such plans, and we heartily concur in Captain Pearson’s opinion, that the colonization of Mundla had best be left to private enterprise.

No sooner, however, do we turn the shield, bring its reverse side before us, and look closely at the picture, hitherto so attractive, from a different point of view, than difficulties and obstacles begin at once to appear. For instance, the extraordinary cheapness of the ordinary staple food, which we have above brought forward to prove the fertility and productiveness of the soil, undoubtedly also proves the absence of all means by which such produce could find its way out of the country, so as to reach some considerable market,—proves in fact the want of roads, a difficulty and obstacle in the way of European colonization, on which, however important, it would be tedious for us to dwell; for it is, perhaps, the very first to strike every observer, be he painstaking and impartial, or superficial and partisan; and it has, not unjustly, been urged on the attention of government with the most wearisome iteration. Here is the aspect which it assumes in Captain Pearson’s Report, and we need not say, that, to any one interested in the country, and anxious for its improvement, it is both sad and irritating to find such a statement as this.

‘The road from Jubbulpore to the eastern coast of India, lies through Mundla and over the Michael range to Raepore and thence through Sumbulpore to Cuttack. The present road, as noted in all government Maps and Routes, passes the ghats



‘at Rajahdhar, but the bulk of the traffic goes by Chilpee, four miles west of the former, the reason being that the Rajahdhar ghat, on account of the steepness of the ascents and descents, is exceedingly difficult for wheeled carriages; while the Chilpee ghat, although in its primitive condition, is easily passable both by animals and carriages.’ Appendix. B. p. 48. And again, ‘The road over the Rajahdhar ghat could not be made fit for wheeled carriages for less than Rs. 30,000 and a large sum nearly equal to that, has already been expended, though without any benefit on account of the wrong line having been adopted, the ascent being one in five, or one in six.’—p. 7.

That is to say, in the case of a great road, not only important to this district, but to the empire, on which government has expended large sums, the money has been so squandered by the imbecility of the officer entrusted with the duty of improving the means of communication, that wheeled carriages have to avoid the road he has seen fit to make, and travel by an old track. Here then, as indeed everywhere else in British India, the want of roads will prove one great stumbling block in the path of the European settler. It is however removable, and in this part of the country without great cost or trouble: a road from Rajahdhar to Mundla and on to Jubbulpore, is already in an advanced state, and half a dozen bridges would render it passable for carts at all seasons: branch roads from it would not be costly or difficult of construction. Save at the ghats, there is nothing to render them so.

The next difficulty in the way of European Colonization, is of a far more serious nature than the want of roads. We shall introduce it to the reader by another quotation from the Report. At page 5, speaking of the district generally, Captain Pearson writes thus: ‘Here, at all events, exist none of the chief objections to European settlers, as there could be no interference with the rights of native landholders, and no disputes could arise about the crops, for there are no cultivators to dispute with: at the same time it would be entirely useless for any to attempt it, (that is colonization,) who have not considerable capital at their disposal, for it would be three or four years before the settlers could hope to be independant of external assistance; houses would have to be built; and without capital good stock for breeding purposes could not be procured.’ And, in continuation, he concludes by saying, that he is convinced the capabilities of the district are such that they need only to be known in order to attract to the enterprise, ‘persons of capital and stability, sufficient not only to take in hand, but to succeed in carrying

‘out with profit such a plan,’ namely European colonization of Mundla by private enterprise.

There appeared in the Allahabad Government Gazette, dated 29th September 1860, a set of Rules, to regulate the conditions on which the authorities were prepared to assign grants of waste lands, in the northwest provinces, to European applicants for such grants. A comparison of these rules with some passages of Captain Pearson’s Report, suggests some very curious reflections. He has just told us, that it would be entirely useless for any European to attempt profitable farming in Mundla, unless he could command considerable capital, besides which a statement has lately gone the rounds of the Indian papers, to the effect, that a non-commissioned officer, retiring honorably, we believe, from the service, applied to Government for a small grant of land, that the grant was refused, the highest authority giving as the reason of the refusal, that successful management of land in India by Europeans, could only be hoped for from men of capital. Now the rules trenchantly exclude all men of capital: first by limiting each grant to, we believe, 5000 acres; next by limiting the leases to short periods. We do not assert, nor do we believe that Government is under any moral obligation to permit land to be purchased in fee simple, and in large lots; but it is difficult to escape the conviction, in the face of this Report, and of the minute above alluded to, that these rules were passed with the deliberate intention of excluding Europeans from Mundla; for to accept the other alternative seems utterly irrational, namely, that the framers of the rules could suppose men of capital would take small patches of land on short leases.

Nor is this alternative left simply as we have stated it. Captain Pearson tells us, that ‘the breeding of cattle, sheep, poultry and horses seems to be the first thing to set about with a prospect of profit, and to be especially desirable, not only on account of the singular advantages which the district affords, for carrying it out, but also because it would involve less expense in the introduction of foreign labor at the outset, as the Gonds would be much more adapted to the more desultory work of looking after poultry, cattle &c., than to regular labor, and would take to it more naturally.’—pp. 23-24. At p. 5. above quoted, it may be remembered that he says, three or four years must elapse before the settler could hope to be able to depend on his farm produce as his sole resource; meanwhile he would reap some immediate profit from his cattle, would feel his way, and find by painful experiment, with no doubt cost and loss, how he could best direct his future operations. He would have some chance by

thus commencing, of conciliating the Gonds, an all-important consideration as we have seen, and, might, perhaps, in these preliminary three or four years, lay a sound foundation for future success, if permitted to follow Captain Pearson's judicious advice, advice, be it remarked, which is recommended to his notice in the rules themselves, which rules nevertheless, lest some man of capital should perchance be found, mad enough to take one of their small grants at a short lease, decree that such grantee shall forfeit every acre not brought under tillage in two years.

Can the rulers have thought any further impediment required? Lest however some capitalist of indomitable energy, undaunted by the above difficulties, should present himself, the door is 'banged to' in his face by the announcement, that no grant whatever will be conceded to a European, until the district shall have been surveyed and mapped. He may amuse himself meanwhile with conjectures as to when this is likely to be.

To complete the forbidding aspect of this side of the picture, we have only to add, that, prior to the promulgation of the rules, a company, we believe, proposed to Government to take up a large portion of the Mundla district on lease: they offered, if we are rightly informed, to pay as rent, a far larger sum than has ever been realized as revenue, from the same area, the revenue having always been so small as to represent but a fraction of even the slight cost of administration. Of the causes assigned for the rejection of this offer, we know nothing, it is of course amply explained in the rules.

We have above, perhaps indiscreetly, spoken of the motives of the framers of the rules: motives are of course entirely beside the question and with them we can have nothing whatever to do. We should, instead, have said, that the necessary result of these rules will be to exclude European settlers from Mundla, and from all those parts of our great jungle highland districts similarly circumstanced, and of which we have taken Mundla as a type: this we presume no one will be found to question, nor can it be denied that these rules may justly be considered, not as difficulties in the way of European colonization under such circumstances, but as an absolute and final prohibition of all attempts at its realization.

Accepting this view of the case, it will now only be necessary to write down the word COTTON in capital letters, in order to suggest to the mind of the reader a long string of reflections, which rise naturally in connection with the subject before us. It is beyond our province to determine, and no part of our intention



to discuss whether the action of European enterprise, ought, in the matter of Indian cotton, to be strictly limited to the encouragement of an increased production in districts already growing it, or to be allowed to extend to attempts at cotton planting by Europeans themselves: it is enough for us to rest assured, that whichever of these plans obtains the largest acceptance, or is best calculated to ensure ultimate success, both will, ere long, be pretty extensively tried: and we may, moreover, be pretty sure that, although the greatest and most important results, may perhaps be looked for from the indirect influence of European capital, in stimulating the production of cotton in Hindustan, yet cotton planting by Europeans themselves is certain to spread, and that, whether for good or for evil, its influence on the future of British power in the country will be serious. Government has, moreover, again and again announced its intention to encourage the influx of European capital and enterprise, and its wish to do all in its power to aid, as well as to lead the way in 'developing the resources of the country,' has done so indeed, until such phrases, as that which we have just placed in inverted commas, have taken rank among the stereotyped common-places of public documents.

Here then, we have on the one side both a real necessity, and a popular cry in favor of English settling in Hindustan, which the Government echoes, and promises to satisfy. On the other, we have these districts of Mundla and the like, presenting every facility for a trial of the experiment under exceptionally favorable circumstances, a fertile soil, a climate suitable in every way, no native landholders to interfere with, and we find the authorities acting thus;—they recommend, as trustworthy in all respects, this Report for the information of intending settlers; so far they are certainly right; but when it tells the would-be-colonist that considerable capital is absolutely necessary to his success, they meet him with a rule which decrees that he can have only a few acres, and those at a short lease;—when it tells him that his best chance is cattle breeding, and that three or four years must elapse before he can hope to get firm hold on his somewhat difficult position, they meet him with a rule which provides, that he may be ejected out of every acre which he has not brought under the plough within two. In fine, they seem to act just as if it had been their intention to use the valuable information before them, for the sole purpose of contriving expedients for his total exclusion.

This we believe to be, as far as it goes, a perfectly fair statement of the case; but, like most questions, this one has two sides:

for even taking for granted, that the authorities have deliberately determined to exclude Europeans from such districts as Mundla, it need not therefore follow, that they had no good reason for their decision; or supposing that their reasons, whatever they may be, should prove such as would not satisfy us, as to the justice and expediency of that decision, it is evident that they nevertheless may have produced honest conviction in the minds of the framers of the rules. This last we conceive to be the state of the case in the present instance, and we shall presently point out, what we believe to be the consideration which had weight with the authorities in this matter. Government is loudly charged with inconsistency—worse still, with wilful deception, in first promising to aid and encourage the European settlers, and then issuing such rules as those above mentioned. Now we mentally acquit the accused of the latter charge, and this is how we explain the existence of the inconsistency. Unquestionably, if we could pry into the secret cogitations of the ruler of British India, we should find, that the ultimate analysis of his profoundest meditations on the very greatest questions of state policy, would result in two exceedingly common-place rules of conduct, between which, in last resort, his choice is practically limited. They may be thus stated: firstly to protect all his subjects from all wrong of all kinds; and secondly to make India pay. Crude, unphilosophical, and unstatesmanlike as these maxims look, in the rough dress of our untaught phraseology, we believe they will be found to contain the leading ideas of our rulers; and, if so, it will not be denied that they must come not unfrequently into real, or apparent collision. On such occasions, there must after all be no small difficulty in practically adjusting their relative claims to authority; and this difficulty must be enormously increased, when pressure from without disturbs the normal equilibrium of the balance, and extraneous influences force irrelevant matter into the scales. It must sometimes happen, that one of our maxims, for the moment, attains undue prominence, acts with more than its legitimate weight, and gets a temporary lead. Our plea is that it is impossible to conceive that this should not sometimes occur, and that it offers a simple and natural explanation of apparent inconsistencies, without forcing us to resort to, what we confess we consider, the somewhat extravagant alternative of supposing, that a batch of gentlemen, who, quite irrespective of their official position, we should think it an honor to know, and whose word in private we should never think of doubting, met together to put on paper a gratuitous and unnecessary lie. We find it much easier to believe, that they

and their master suffered the common fate of inferior humanity, and honestly wavered, under the influence of contending motives and contradictory rules of conduct. Let us now turn to the Report and see what light it throws on this part of the subject.

As Captain Pearson's knowledge of the country and of its inhabitants increased, and in direct proportion to the amount of the information which he gradually accumulated of the general condition of the district, a curious change seems to have come over his views, on the subject of the means best suited to bring about a better state of things: what he found was simply the shadow of a revenue paid by a district, in which 'depopulation is continually progressing,' and at page 5 he writes thus: 'It is difficult to say at once, what means would best succeed for repopulating this fine district, and developing its resources; *but it must be taken for granted, that no plan will be of any avail for that purpose, unless one or more European settlers, of some sort, go and take up their permanent abode there:*' at the very end of the Report, page 39, he says; '*I can not help feeling that the chief dependence for improving the district, must be placed in the hope of being able to induce respectable natives, to come up from the Nagpore country and settle here.*' The italics are ours, and indicate the passages showing the change above alluded to; it is, as will be seen, thorough and complete. The beau ideal of the Indian officials, is, we believe, the 'respectable native,' as his *bête noir*, unquestionably, is the 'enterprising European': nor could any unprejudiced observer wonder at the preference. The former is courteous, conciliating, and above all respectful; he has the most heartfelt admiration of the laws, the courts and the officials, which he daily finds so useful in grinding his dependents down to their fitting position of abject submission: the other is too often a 'sad dog'; frequently, alas, the reverse of courteous, rarely conciliating, and very seldom indeed respectful; he has, moreover, the most cordial abhorrence of the laws, the courts and the officials, which daily spoil his temper, and waste his time, and his money. Considering these things, had this Report been the work of the Chief Commissioner of the district, within which its subject lies, or of one of his deputies, we should have been prepared for the passage last quoted as natural and justifiable. But there is nothing in Captain Pearson's Report which can suggest the suspicion, that he arrived at his conclusions by any other process than the impartial examination of *bonâ fide* evidence, or that he was swayed by foregone conclusions and prejudices.



The change illustrated by the two quotations above was a gradual one: his distrust in the certainty of the benefit derivable from European colonization soon appears to have suggested itself; for, very soon after the passage, where this certainty is confidently declared, he tells us, that 'too much care could not be exercised before making any grant, to ascertain that any person who was willing to make the trial, was in every way fit for it, and had the necessary capabilities and qualifications to carry it out successfully.' That such a person could be found, he does not at this stage seem to doubt, for he goes on to speak with confidence of the success of this scheme. As he sees more of the stupidity and excessive timidity of the jungle people, he insists that care should be taken, 'without entering into vexatious particulars, to provide effectual means for the protection of the present inhabitants from oppression.' At this point he still entertains hopes that *care* is all that is necessary, and that by taking proper precaution, all difficulties will ultimately be overcome. He thus continues—'no doubt, any one for his own interest would take care of this, but still we all know how liable our own dependents are to oppress and bully their own countrymen, when the latter are poorer, or lower in the social scale than themselves; and, no doubt, if a European came up here with a large staff of chuprassees, to collect labor &c, even if he were the kindest man in the world, and desired most of all to do justice to those he employed, yet if he did not take care, his assistants would soon drive all the Gonds and Bygars out of the country. Perhaps if it could possibly be managed, it would be better if it were made legal, for every man employed to claim daily pay for work performed, and I think I would not sanction as legal, any agreement between the settlers and the Gond ryot, which was not countersigned by a magistrate, deputy collector, or some disinterested party, in order to testify, that the terms were fully understood by those who bound themselves by them'—p. 26. Now here the European is supposed to desire to take that care which is competent to obviate the difficulty—'if he did not take care his assistants would &c.;' but he will take care, it is for his own interest to do so, beside he is probably kind, and desires to be just.—We are not ourselves very devoted admirers of the paternal system of Government, and are not, therefore, likely to be enamoured of such expedients as that suggested for the daily payment of coolies; nor have we unbounded confidence in the interference of deputy collectors, and other such disinterested parties: still we admit that circumstances so special may warrant treatment even as exceptional as has been

proposed, and at all events we recognize in what Captain Pearson says, a sensible and manly view of the case. He acknowledges that the average European though keen in the pursuit of gain, is anxious to be just: he insists very properly that his subordinates are all that is the reverse of this, and the jungle people being timid and stupid, he urges that the European master should be stimulated and aided in his attempts to restrain his native employés, by such regulations as while satisfying his sense of justice, may best meet that end without unnecessarily or vexatiously trammelling himself. This view, if not so sanguine as that of page 5, is at least just, and leaves the case to stand on its own merits; in fact, leaves experiment and fair trial to decide, what in reality it alone is competent to decide. At p. 39, on the contrary, the whole question is prejudged, and decided for us without experiment, and even without any one reason being assigned for the conclusion announced—‘however well inclined I feel to my countrymen, *I cannot help feeling* that there are very few, who would have sufficient patience and knowledge of their character, to deal successfully with the wild and timid races who inhabit these parts; or, however well disposed and capable they might themselves be, how far they would be able to prevent their chuprassees and other assistants from exercising oppression.’ We cannot but regret that the reporter should have suppressed all the reasons on which so important an opinion as this was formed, and one so unlike that formerly advanced. We may be gratified to hear that he is well inclined to his countrymen, the state of of his feelings is highly creditable to him; but we consider the announcement of it as a poor equivalent for evidence in a case of this kind. Page 5 we find bears the date of October 1859, whereas page 39 was apparently written in May 1860. If Captain Pearson in the interim, had come in contact with some specimens of the enterprising European,’ and thus learned by personal inspection that he is not the amiable being he took him for, we submit that he ought to have told us so. When we once more read over the two passages which we have placed in juxtaposition above, one from page 5, the other from the end of the Report, we are prepared to maintain, that, in common justice to himself, the reporter was bound, either to give his reason for the change which his opinions had undergone, on the subject of the European colonist, or else to bring forward any evidence he may have had, for thinking the jungle man more timid than he had believed him to be at first, when ordinary care was all that he considered necessary for his protection: but, above all, we have,

we conceive, a right to call on him to inform us, what reason he has for supposing that the respectable native, whom he hopes, to induce to come up from Nagpore, will treat the jungle people differently from those other respectable natives, who, he tells us, now '*bully and keep them down.*' And finally, we may ask him, how it has come to pass, that his conviction, founded on feelings which he cannot help entertaining, of the contingent possibility that the European might permit his subordinates to bully the the Gonds, has so completely out-weighed the fact, (founded on actual evidence reported by himself,) that native landholders actually do bully them, as to warrant him in assuring us that the only hope of improving Mundla lies in encouraging the latter.

We are inclined on the whole to admit, that Captain Pearson's manner of treating this part of his subject is open to some such adverse criticism as the above: adverse criticism, however, is not our object, and when we take the statements, even the statements of opinion, in the Report, apart from the way in which we find them advanced, we in the main, or at all events to a great extent, agree with every one of them, and believe that the contradictions are, after all, more apparent than real. In the first place, we agree with him in his belief that European colonization could change the Mundla district, from a thinly populated wilderness, in which a few half starved and wholly degraded savages eke out a miserable existence, into a rich and prosperous province, and, postponing for future consideration his counter proposal of native colonization, we believe that European colonization is the only way in which this could be effected: but then, we do not shut our eyes to the fact, which does not seem to have engaged his attention at all, that benefits of this magnitude cannot be realized here, any more than elsewhere, without being paid for in some coin. We agree with him in thinking, there is the most serious danger that even the greatest care, kindness, and love of justice on the part of the European settler, may fail so completely to check the rascalities of his subordinates, as that an occasional Gond might not suffer an occasional wrong, or even that one or two might not occasionally run away into the jungle. At this point, however, we stop, namely at that reached by the reporter at p. 26. above quoted—we agree with his opinion there expressed, that self interest would act on the settler favorably for the Gond. We have some little confidence in the action of the virtues there attributed to the European, and we further believe that certain checks might be devised, (whether those he suggests or others,) which would secure the wild man all the protection that the most rigid justice could



demand, and it is only where he fears that this could not be effected that we take issue with him; in short, although we shrink from the casuistry which teaches us to do evil that good may come, yet we believe that whatever may be *unavoidably* suffered by the wild men, would be far more than made up to them, by the advantages they would reap from the presence of European settlers in Mundla. On this point, on which we take issue with Captain Pearson, turns the whole question, in reality; we can only leave it to the reader, and in doing so it is but fair to confess that our opponent possesses fuller information and a more extended experience than we do, in spite of which we have the firmest confidence in the correctness of our own conclusions.\* Captain Pearson then, at first advocates, and finally rejects, the European colonization of Mundla as the best hope for the improvement of the district. We shall now proceed briefly to examine which has received his approval.

First, as to the excessive timidity of the jungle men, no one, who really knows any thing of them, will question his assertions. Their indolence too is extreme; nothing save compulsion would ever induce them to work. We speak from experience when we say that they will refuse a sum, which they could not in any other way earn in a month, if required to do, in exchange for it, three hours' work: rather than undergo the very slight amount of labor required to secure the best crops of the best corn, they prefer to barely keep body and soul together by means of that miserable stuff kootkee, already described as their favorite crop and which grows almost spontaneously. We believe that no

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\* It may, perhaps, not be out of place here to mention, that we have seen with regret some criticisms on Captain Pearson's Report, which advocated what may be called the extreme "enterprising European" party. The reporter was personally attacked, although not one of his statements was questioned, nor any of the reasons on which he rests his conclusions impugned. It was asserted to be a self-evident proposition, that all that is required to ensure the improvement and prosperity of Mundla, is the presence there of men of the stamp of the "old Indigo planters of Bengal". It is treated as not only absurd but malicious to suppose that any injustice to any one could result from such men having uncontrolled power there; and the suggestion for the registration of contracts, is treated as a malignant insult offered by the reporter to his non-official fellow countrymen. Surely nothing could more strongly impress on any candid mind how well grounded Captain Pearson's fears may in some cases be, than the possibility of such views being seriously advocated. Nor can any thing show more clearly that the official conception of the "enterprising European" is not entirely the phantom of imaginative prejudice, or tend more powerfully to justify the apparent determination of the authorities, either to exclude him altogether from such districts as Mundla, or, if forced to admit him, to take the most stringent precautions that he shall not put in practice the theories which such advocates are not ashamed to avow.

reward, which it is in the power of man to offer, would induce them to submit to sustained labour, and we are convinced that, if to twenty average specimens there was given every luxury that the wildest effort of their imaginations could conceive, during six days, and they were required in return to do on the seventh day, an easy six hours' work, every one of the twenty would run away to starve in the jungle rather than submit to such conditions. In short we accept Captain Pearson's conclusion, that the settler could not count on the jungle man as a source of labor, and that the gentlest attempt at coercion would drive him to the woods. Unless he is to be reduced to slavery, some means must be taken to raise him at least one step in the scale of progress, before he can meet the European on common ground: this one step we believe many of his congeners (as we take the unscientific liberty of considering them) have already taken, in learning to appreciate improved food, clothes and dwellings, and in feeling the consequent desire to possess the same: this desire is the only possible motive of exertion that can be used, and prior to its existence we know of no way, save violence, by which the European settler could avail himself of their assistance at all. Now this process of giving the Gond a taste for luxury has commenced even in the wild district, though to, of course, a very partial extent: for instance at p. 32. we hear that they are 'gradually migrating towards those villages where they can obtain the advantage of bazars; that is, where Hindu cultivators are settled,' and again at p. 33.; after describing the 'hopelessly bad condition' of the inhabitants of the wilder parts of the country, the reporter tells us that it is 'in strong contrast to the state of affairs about the villages nearer Mhow, which are inhabited and managed by Hindu cultivators.'

The adjoining districts, within the territories of the Rewah Rajah, are identical, as regards population and general physical condition, with those described in the Report, in all respects save one, namely, that there the experiment suggested by Captain Pearson, has been long tried, and we can safely assert, that stronger confirmation of the justness of his view could not be desired than may there be found. In that part of the country, precisely the same hill men live in precisely similar hills and dales, the only difference being, that their villages instead of belonging to themselves, themselves and their villages belong to Baghels, Rajputs, and Bramuns, who, settled here and there about the country, seem to be a kind of feudal lords of the soil. Now it is palpable, even from a superficial inspection, that this state of things is highly beneficial to the wild men: wheat, rice

jhow, urhur and other dals, chenna, sugar, janera, maize, some oil seeds, and tobacco are seen round every village, trade, if it cannot fairly be said to exist, is, at all events, beginning to be born, for *something* is exported and *something*, however little, imported: the fragments of dress one sees, for instance, are not exclusively the produce of that most antediluvian of all contrivances, the indigenous loom. Unquestionably the people eat better food in better huts; moreover they work a little: their physical condition is in short improved, very slightly perhaps, but still positively, tangibly, perceptibly; they have taken a step, and if it be but a short one, still it is in advance; they are less migratory, and the small end of the wedge is really inserted.

Their Hindu masters have all the good and all the bad qualities observable in the same kind of people elsewhere: they are a handsome thorough-bred looking race, tall, fair, dignified, and graceful in mien, and having all the outward signs of hereditary rulers of men: moreover they are lazy, idle, and dissipated, and their government of their Gond subjects may be described as an irresponsible despotism, modified (not indeed by epigrams, but) by the jungle, to which their villagers have always the resource of flying. It is perhaps humiliating to confess it, but we nevertheless believe that these men do what Englishmen would fail to do, namely, manage the wild people of the jungle profitably to themselves, and to the decided advantage of the inferior race. The overbearing insolence of the 'Anglo Saxon,' in his treatment of men of, what it pleases him to call, an inferior race, is proverbial; moreover it is (what is by no means the same thing) true; but we unhesitatingly defy any European to parallel the supercilious hauteur with which these lords of the soil treat their dependents, it is positively wonderful to see; but nothing ever led us to think that the Gonds minded, or even perceived it: we fear they do not appreciate the exquisite contempt shown for them, its artistic grace is lost upon them; of one thing at all events we are quite convinced, namely that they do not feel insulted by it.

To the Hindu Thakoor, just as much as to the European settler the labor of the Gond is the great desideratum, the first necessity; the grand difference between them lies in the form in which each would seek to obtain it. The latter would try to get it *directly*, that is in the form of a day's work; this would be a *sine quâ non*, even if he could profit by Captain Pearson's advice, and commence by cattle breeding, but much more so in the prosecution of those undertakings which would be ultimately most profitable to him, such as tea, cotton, coffee, or indigo planting; the former meanwhile seeks it, on the contrary, *indirectly*,



namely in the shape of his crop: he goes round his villages, sees the arable land, advances to the head man, or to private individuals corn for seed, sometimes also for food, and at harvest time returns for the crop. At this stage of the proceedings it is that the peculiar genius of the Thakoor shines forth with peculiar lustre; his prey is not at his mercy in the sense in which the Bengali villager is at the mercy of the mahajun: a little too much pressure and the village is deserted in a night; the inevitable jungle is within sight, and stays the master's hand. That the screw must practically be adjusted with a nicety approaching to scientific accuracy is proved by the following considerations; first, were too much exacted, cultivation under the system would to a physical certainty decrease, whereas it is rather perhaps slightly on the increase; next, were any kind of fair play to be shown the Gond, he would certainly long ere this have spread, multiplied and grown rich and independent, just as the Sonthals did in the Rajmahal hill district from 1840 to 1855, whereas we find him kept at the lowest possible stage, just above his absolutely wild condition, that is, barely up to the point at which he can be made useful to his master. Just as direct taxation is felt in a way quite unlike that in which indirect taxation is perceived to be oppressive, so the Gond parts with his labor in the shape of his crop, although nothing could induce him to give it in the shape of a day's work; that is, as we have seen, in the only form in which it could be made use of by the European settler.

But the Thakoor manages to get something out of him in the way of direct taxation also. The lord of half a dozen villages issues his perwannah, commanding the attendance of a number of young men; when the service required is the cutting and carrying of wood, we believe that obedience is always readily accorded, and no reward ever given or expected. In the case of a hunting party, or if the Thakoor himself, or any other noble traveller, requires a load to be carried for a stage, we have never heard of any question being raised, or any difficulty being made by the villager. But when sustained labor is required, if a field has to be broken up, or a bund built, then a day's food is always given in return for 3 or 4 hours' work; and we have seen many a bund and many a tank long left in a half completed condition, only because labor could not be obtained: here in fact we have the measure of the power of the Thakoor, the limit beyond which he cannot stretch his authority.

If the European could establish himself in a country like this, if he could begin where the Hindu cultivator leaves off, or rather stops short, then, indeed, we might hope for the best results;

he would offer his wages to men prepared, or in process of being prepared to appreciate the advantages of such treatment; and if he had the patience and wisdom not to want to get on too fast, more labor for higher pay would soon be obtainable, and a commencement once successfully made, his village would soon be crowded with deserters from the estates of his neighbours. Never could there be found a more doubly truthful application of the trite old French proverb '*ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*' than here: in one sense the European cannot make this first step in advancing the Gond on the path of progress: in the other were he permitted to make his first step as he might make it, under the guidance of Captain Pearson's advice and in the absence of the rules, it would prove his sole difficulty.

In conclusion, we must for a moment revert to the subject of this paper, namely, the great jungle tract including Santpoora, Gondwana, Mundla, Sahagpore, Singrowlie: on the great majority of the subjects, suggested by an area so vast, we have not touched at all. For instance on that of its mineral wealth we had intended to have given a connected sketch; we found, however, that to do to such a subject even a semblance of justice, would have extended this article far beyond all permissible limits: a technical account of the coal fields of that portion of our area which borders on the Nerbudda valley, has been published by Government, with maps, &c; to that volume we may refer, as the only extant information on the subject.

Many other parts of our area equal Mundla in the peculiar advantages, to illustrate which we have analyzed Captain Pearson's Report of that fine district. Other places equal Puchmuri, or nearly equal it, in most, if not all those features which we believe render it so desirable as the site of an official colony. Mythico-historic ruins, and beautiful scenery are to be found almost everywhere, and of the former we have given but a meagre idea in our account of Bandugurh. In short, we take leave of our subject with the regretful conviction, that we have been able to do but little to attract towards it that attention which it so richly deserves.

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ART. IV.—1. *Report of the Indigo Commissioners*. 1860.

2. *A Blue Mutiny*, *Fraser's Magazine*. January, 1861.

3. *Reports of the Special Commissioners*.

4. *Indigo Blue Books*.

5. *Indigo and its Enemies*. London 1861.

THE unpopularity of a Government, when it is almost universal,\* is generally considered sufficient proof that it is unsound, unjust, or at least unsuited to the wants and necessities of the people. When it becomes so in England it is overthrown, and a new Ministry, which, at least, promises better, is put into its place; should that also fail to give satisfaction the process is repeated, and, perhaps, the first dismissed, having had a lesson, gets another trial. This occurs every few years, and is considered a wholesome and necessary check upon the tendency of men, who have been long in power, to forget that they are, after all, only the servants of the people. Public opinion is powerful in England, chiefly through the press, but how many statesmen has England seen, who would have disregarded the warnings or demands of the popular voice, or, perhaps, treated it with contempt, but for the all-powerful executive which popular opinion possesses in the House of Commons? Where would the Reform Bill and a thousand others have been, had England been governed by a ministry hereditary and irresponsible, and which no representations could remove? It is thus in Bengal, and over all India, and the effect of security and irresponsibility is exhibited in the usual manner, in insolence, arrogance, and a contemptuous disregard of all demands for reform. We have a hereditary Government which does not change, into which no new blood can be introduced, except at the lower extremities; and having to pass through the same veins, and follow the same arteries, taking fifteen, or it may be thirty years to reach the head and brain, can it then be considered new? It is no exaggeration to say that this is the case with the Civil Service. Its education, after reaching India, has undergone little or no change for fifty, or perhaps we may say one hundred years. The same grades of assistant Magistrate, Magistrate, Collector, Sessions Judge, Commissioner, Sudder Judge, Secretary, Member of Council, and finally Lieut. Governor have to be gone through

\* That the Indian Government is unpopular with natives was settled, beyond dispute, in 1857:—that it is so with all independent Europeans, who can deny?



by all with scarcely any variation. It appears to have been assumed that this formula could not be improved or modified, and so it has gone on; and, as might be expected, the old world machinery, no matter what material it was fed with, has produced fabrics suited neither to the tastes or wants of modern times. It is like a paper mill. The rags of the beggar and the cast off linen of the gentleman being thrown into one vat, become undistinguishable, producing a medium article, not so good as the best, and not so bad as the worst. And can we blame the linen because it was mixed up with the rags to make an average, and was not done justice to? In spite of the mixing, a few sheets of first rate quality have turned up, but under such difficulties, that their number, compared with the whole quantity, has been very small.

It has been the creed of the Civil Service for generations, that the independent European was dangerous, 'an embarrassment to Government,' and not to be encouraged. It originated in the trading days of the Company, who would admit no poachers into the preserve, and it has been kept up since partly from self interest, partly from fear of those who were 'too prone to assert their indefeasible rights,' and a mistaken policy. There are men now in the Civil Service, and able men too, who still consider the introduction of Europeans freely into India as dangerous and impolitic. It took a long time and many a hard fight to repeal the corn laws and establish free trade, but it was done, and so will it be in India; but we need not wonder if some civilians should, like British farmers, look upon the measure as ruinous. It is hard to convince men when their education, and harder still when what they conceive to be their interest opposes conviction. There are English farmers who still maintain that free trade has been the ruin of the country. In most cases 'the ruin of the country' means, a real or imaginary injury to the class to which the speaker belongs. The protectionist farmer and the civilian are on a par in opinion, but there the similarity ends. The farmer has no power to injure in any way the free trader. He is not an officer of the customs department through which the article, he believes is ruining him, has to pass. If he were, it is not improbable that difficulties might be thrown in the way of the obnoxious article. Now the civilian is an officer of the customs department, and not only of the customs department, but of every other from the free port to the most remote corner of the land. There is not a market to which the free article can be carried, over which he has not a certain control, and that control is, of course, greatest

in the most remote, namely, the Mofussil. It is perhaps strange and, upon the whole, most creditable to the Indian protectionist, that he has not used his power oftener and more unscrupulously. It may be accounted for in many ways, and first, we will place it to the credit of his general love of fair play, his natural partiality for his countrymen, for there was, and even still is, such a partiality, although self-interest, or fancied self-interest has done much to smother it. Secondly, it has happened that the civilian has had an interest, under the rose, in the Interloper's money-making schemes;\* and more than that, in a lonely out-station a cheery companion and a fellow sportsman is too valuable to be readily quarrelled with. Any one even tolerably acquainted with the Mofussil, will at once admit (and has not the experience of the last two years proved it,) that even now, and how much more so must it have been in old days, it is in the power of a Magistrate, by a slight indication of hostility, by a mere hint of its existence, to endanger, if not absolutely to ruin, the most equitable and flourishing enterprise ever undertaken by an Interloper, and when that hostility is carried so far as to suggest, that there may be 'irresistible pleas' for not fulfilling a contract, need we wonder that it is successful, and that the chance of emancipation from obligations and debt is eagerly snapped at? It would be so in any country where the moral sense is far stronger than in Bengal.

It would occupy more space and time than we can afford, to recapitulate all or half of the charges which have been brought against the planter. Rape, robbery, murder, kidnapping, torture, forgery, and outrages of every description are amongst the number, and are still repeated and harped upon, in spite of the unwilling dismissal of all the heavy charges recorded in the Indigo Commission's Report. We say unwilling dismissal advisedly for reasons which will be given hereafter. It is curious, that the filthiest crimes which have been imputed to Planters, and which have been above all others, declared to be the most improbable and foundationless, have a Missionary origin. There may be some who will really misunderstand us when we allude to Missionary failings, and a great many more who will pretend to do so, it being the old and well established tactics of the unworthy members of all respectable professions to construe any and every charge made against the individual into an attack upon the class, and, if it can be twisted into a scoff at religion itself, it is so much the more effective.

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\* Evidence of Mr. Mangles before Colonization Committee.

The planter is accused of violence in carrying on his business, violence in representing his grievances, and, in short, on every occasion when an opportunity for being violent is available. Now, we admit that in some instances the charge is to a certain extent true, but is a man to be refused justice because his manner of asking for it is open to objection? We do not approve of violence either in business or debate, but we maintain that although violence may prejudice many against a cause, the merits of which they are ignorant of, it does not make a just cause unjust. When a ryot rushes into 'the presence,' and throws himself upon the ground roaring for justice, he is decidedly violent, but would any Magistrate be warranted in refusing him justice or even a hearing because of his violence. Should he say, 'My dear Sir, your case may be a very hard one, but, really, your manner is so rough that I can do nothing for you?' There is nothing so likely to engender violence as a strong conviction that justice will be denied, and the Planter has tolerably good grounds for holding such a belief, and so has the ryot, for there is, as a rule, no justice in the Mofussil. There is no such thing as simple justice known. The rich man can buy decrees, but is *that* justice. The advantage in law is on the side of the rich all over the world, in England as well as in Bengal. It has been so since the days of the antediluvian patriarchs, and will be till the Millennium. It is difficult for the most charitable to make sufficient allowance for the position of the Planter. He has to deal with notoriously the most immoral and lying people in the world. If he wants his own he must take it, for practically the law will not recover it for him. If people would look calmly and with an unprejudiced eye at the charge of violence and lawlessness brought against the Planter, and at the admitted\* diminution of affrays and disturbances, they could not fail to come to a conclusion, much more favourable to the Planter than we fear they have, at least in England. To help them to which comparatively favourable conclusion we may quote a few words from the Indigo Commission Report. At para. 86, after referring to the decrease of heavy crimes, Mr. Seton Karr says, 'even in Nuddea, as 'will be seen, the cases were few in the years preceding 1859 'and 1860. Some of this good result is no doubt due to the 'working of Act IV of 1840, for giving summary possession 'of lands, to the law for the exaction of recognizances, and 'security against apprehended breaches of the peace \* \* \* \* 'and to the establishment of sub-divisions, with convenient circles 'of jurisdiction \* \* and we doubt not to the good sense and

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\* Indigo Commission Report.



'good feeling of the influential planters.' Now we beg careful attention to the above. It is admitted, nay proved, that increased facilities for obtaining justice have diminished, indeed almost extinguished, serious outrages. The inference is simple. Still greater facilities would annihilate the minor offences as surely as they did the serious outrages. Now, if the Planter were really the oppressor, which it is the interest of his enemies to represent him to be; if, as they assert, oppression is necessary to the very existence of his profession, we should expect to find him the steadfast opposer of all reform of the law, or of the administration of it. A lawless man does not ask for an increase of Magistrates. A colony of burglars would not be likely to petition for more detectives of a better and less corrupt description, in preference to those who used to wink at their proceedings and share the spoil. But who has been so loud as the planter in complaining of a vile police? who has cried so much, and so persistently, for the reform of the existing courts, and for an increase in their number? The Planter has begged, petitioned, and prayed for years to be brought nearer justice, to have more of it, to have it purer, and more accessible, and this fact, which is too notorious to require proof, should be a sufficient answer to nearly all the charges brought against him, the chief of which is lawlessness. To English minds the charge of lawlessness is considered a sufficient ground of condemnation, and if proved, at once puts the unfortunate so charged beyond the pale of sympathy. It may be instructive to enquire in what lawlessness consists. An Englishman would define it, as meaning a detestation of law, order, and justice, a love of anarchy, a capability of committing any or every crime for the prevention of which laws are made. To an Anglo-Indian, and especially to one of Mofussil experience, it has a far different meaning. All men who are beyond the law, or have no law within their reach, are lawless; but does this necessarily mean unjust, oppressive, cruel and tyrannical? Suppose that, under pressure from a mahajun or any of his numerous and merciless creditors, a ryot flies to an Indigo Factory, and, in consideration of his agreeing to cultivate a small portion of his land with Indigo, receives a sufficient number of rupees to satisfy, for a time, his most relentless persecutor, and the temporary difficulty being removed, endeavours to evade, neglect, or altogether repudiate his agreement, and that the only remedy left to the planter is an expensive and almost interminable Civil suit, costing from one to two hundred per cent upon the amount claimed. The claim is a just one, and the Planter has an empty godown on the spot, while the Civil Court may be ten, twenty, or fifty

miles away, with a lane of greedy, corrupt Amlah guarding every approach, and watching at every gate for what they may devour. The short and easy remedy is the most natural under such circumstances, and need we wonder if it is adopted? We are far from defending it, for it is a rule in civilized lands that even one's own is not to be taken by force. In the letter of the Court of Directors, No. 3 of 1832, we find the following in para. 5.

'There is too much reason to believe that the Ryots are to a great extent oppressed\* and defrauded, if not by Indigo planters themselves, by agents employed by them, acting in their names and for their advantage, while breaches of the peace attended with violence (often with wounding and sometimes even with murder,) are committed, the chief actors in which are hired armed men engaged by Planters, for the express purpose of enforcing their claim in defiance of the law.' If we alter only one word in the above quotation it will fairly represent the state of matters. For 'in defiance of the law' let us put 'in the absence of the law' and it will explain very nearly every instance of 'lawlessness.' It cannot be denied, that when the power of righting one's self without the formality of a law-suit exists, the power of oppressing others must necessarily co-exist, and amongst any large body of men, no matter what their profession may be, some will undoubtedly be found who will tyrannize under such circumstances; but what does it amount to after all? Let us take the list of crimes furnished to the Indigo Commission by the most spiteful, and, we will do him the justice to say, the most open and plucky enemy of the Planters, Mr. Eden, and see if it bears out the sweeping charges so unhesitatingly made by such men as Mr. Layard. We cannot doubt that such a partisan as Mr. Eden did his best to establish his case, and no greater proof of his zeal is needed than is furnished by the statement referred to, which goes back to about the time of his birth, that is to 1830. The list contains in all forty nine cases in 29 years, a trifle over a case and a half per annum. Now, with regard to the cases themselves, we cannot do better, even at the risk of provoking a laugh on a serious subject, than quote Mr. Eden's own words in reply to the question, No. 3578, put by Mr. Fergusson. Mr. Fergusson asks, is it not the case that more than half of those accused were acquitted? Mark the reply. 'There are scarcely any one of these cases

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\* Would not this remark apply with equal force to Government? for who can deny, that ryots are oppressed and defrauded by the amlah of every court in India?

'in which the European or principal Manager of the concern has even been put upon his trial, although in many of them, the Judges trying the cases, have expressed strong opinions that such Europeans were themselves implicated in them.' Imagine a compiler of criminal statistics in England including a number of men, who had never been tried or even formally accused in the list of criminals, because some of the Judges had expressed 'strong opinions' upon individuals who never came before them. Mr. Eden was unfortunate in the choice of the case on which he made his final stand, for his statements prove nothing more than that Mofussil Courts will commit upon evidence which the trained Judges of the Supreme Court consider insufficient or altogether worthless. This has been notoriously the case from time immemorial, and forms the chief ground on which the European claims exemption from Mofussil Courts. The Judges have had no legal education, are surrounded by perjury and corruption of every description, and the case must be simple indeed, if by any thing short of a miracle, they arrive at the same decision as the learned and deeply-read Judges of the Supreme Court, held in check and guided as they are by the experienced intelligence of an able bar.

The comparison is an unfortunate one for the Mofussil Judges. Mr. Eden's logic amounts to this. Ignorant, or say comparatively ignorant Judges condemned two men to imprisonment for life, for murder, upon the same evidence as was rejected by educated lawyers, ergo, the learned and experienced were wrong and the ignorant ex-collectors right. We should be disposed to come to a directly opposite conclusion, and say, that probably two innocent men were sentenced to imprisonment for life for a murder, which does not appear to have been legally proved was ever committed. No body could ever have been produced or identified, if we are to credit Mr. Eden's next most logical statement. 'If the murder was not committed, (says Mr. Eden,) where is Dick alias Richard Aimes, who has never appeared since?' It amounts to this. If Tom is accused of murdering Dick, and fails to produce Richard Aimes, he is indoubtedly guilty, and should be imprisoned for life. The above specimen will surely suffice, so we may be excused from following Mr. Eden's evidence further. Instead of having shown their utter worthlessness and irrelevancy, if we admit that the forty nine cases are strictly true, who is there to blame? We have no hesitation in saying, in the most solemn manner possible, that every crime which could have been either totally prevented or mitigated by good laws, good police, and more available justice, lies at the door of those, who for years have refused to admit the necessity



for reform, chiefly for the same reason that the planter was unwilling to reduce the number of bundles he would extort for the rupee, namely, expense. It would not pay. The country could not afford justice and must go without. There is a wonderful similarity between the Government and the planter here. The planter could not, he said, afford more for the Indigo as it would not pay him, and it turns out that, in some cases,\* he was giving away more in rent than he made from the Indigo. The Government could not afford justice, and it lost in revenue, owing to the insecurity of property, ten times more than would have sufficed to bring justice to the door of the poor and oppressed, for whom it professes to have so much sympathy. Mr. Grant steamed through seventy miles of people calling for justice. Can it be that Mr. Grant's route was a newly discovered one—was it through some lately annexed territory, Oude, or Sikhim? Or is it possible that seventy miles of people can be still crying for justice, in a district over which we have ruled since the last shot was fired at Plassey. No, Mr. Grant, it cannot be, for your and your predecessors' Judges, Collectors, and Magistrates have sat in judgment in that district for a hundred years. It could not under such circumstances, be justice they called for. If it was, what a grand corroboration of all that Planters and other interlopers have so long proclaimed, that there was neither law nor justice. Mr. Grant, in order to strengthen his case against the Planters, has gone on blindly heaping accusation upon accusation, setting forth, with all the strength of his able pen, the Planters' sins of commission, forgetting, or, in his anger not heeding, the inevitable conclusion, that the sins of the Planters would have been impossible but for his own heinous ones of omission. Mr. Grant has not the excuse of ignorance, for he boasts that he had 'peculiar opportunities' of becoming acquainted with abuses in connection with Indigo '*in all districts*' so far back as 1835; so for twenty-four years has he tolerated grinding oppression, which has only now become unbearable, although it is admitted by all, and even by Mr. Grant himself, to be absolute freedom compared with what formerly existed. Mr. Grant has filled no subordinate place for very many years, and after such an avowal of his knowledge, we should expect to find him taking the lead in remedial measures; but has he done so? We cannot call to mind one single step taken by Mr. Grant, to put a stop to such a disgraceful state of affairs, when he occupied a seat in council. It could not have been from want of power, for we have seen that a

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\* Messrs. Hill's Concerns.

subordinate officer, possessed power sufficient to uproot the growth of two or three generations. And to that subordinate the credit, if there is any, of the emancipation is due. Mr. Eden took the first decided step, which did not meet with Mr. Grant's approval or sanction for several months, namely, from 20th August 1859 to 7th April 1860. There was certainly no undue haste shown by Mr. Grant in the investigation, for he took seven months to consider a proclamation which only occupies sixteen lines of the Blue Book. Mr. Grant is not so slow a thinker or actor in matters personally affecting himself, for we find the petition of the Indigo Planters, presented to the Supreme Government on the 26th July 1860, replied to, in a minute filling eleven pages of the Blue Book, on the 17th of August, considerably under a month, and even this short delay he states to be 'longer than was desirable,' and pleads illness as his excuse; we see that a proclamation, which, whatever might have been its intention, was undoubtedly interpreted as meaning that a ryot, in spite of a legal agreement to cultivate Indigo, might offer 'irresistible pleas' to avoid the consequences the planter insists upon, required seven months for explanation and consideration and was finally approved. But suppose it had been otherwise, and that Mr. Grant had taken the same view of the matter as Messrs. Grote, Reid and Drummond, who, one and all, condemned the 'indiscretion' of Mr. Eden, the consequences would have been much the same, for it did not take nearly seven months to do the mischief. This extraordinary delay, taken in conjunction with Mr. Grant's subsequent proceedings, showing, as they do, unmistakable *animus*, as, for instance, his offering a reward for the conviction of certain individuals\* supposed to have been concerned in an affray, can only lead to the most damaging conclusion, that he allowed seven months to elapse to give the proclamation *time to work*, in case he should be ultimately compelled to disavow or condemn it. What knowledge Mr. Grant did possess on the subject of Indigo, we have his own admission, was twenty-five years old, and could not consequently be said to be either fresh or practical, having been all derived from having been employed, in the year 1835, in 'digesting' a mass of correspondence on the subject, which correspondence, if we mistake not, resulted in a verdict far from unfavourable to the Planters generally. It was upon this theoretical and mouldy knowledge that he set aside the opinions of the experienced and practical men we have mentioned above, and

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\* Factory servants.

upheld the spiteful proceedings of a favourite subordinate, the general fairness and truth of whose statements may be gathered from the following. 'In fact the ryots dare not go to a factory 'unless protected by a letter from a Magistrate.'\* Contrast this with the following extract from a letter from Mr. Cockburn, Deputy Magistrate, to the Government of Bengal, dated 31st December, 1859. 'Again, most European Planters listen to the 'complaints of their ryots, and if they do not afford them 'redress, still the Bengal ryot is generally quite satisfied if he 'can only get at his 'moneeb' and relate his grievances in his 'loudest voice. He can then go back to his village, and brag 'about the friendly way he was treated, and this no doubt keeps 'the lower factory servants somewhat in check. But it is next to 'impossible for the ryots of a native zemindar to get to him. In 'the first place, he generally resides miles away, or in quite a 'different district from his factories, and an ordinary ryot cannot 'afford the time the journey there and back would occupy; besides 'no ryot would attempt to face his zemindar without a rupee in 'his hand as a *nuzzur*. If he was fool enough to present himself 'without this necessary article, the result would undoubtedly be a 'shoe-beating and a summary ejection. In fact it would be next to 'impossible for him to get to his zemindar without previously 'feeling the amlah.' This is the statement of an ex-planter, and the general tone of his letter certainly shows no particular partiality for the members of the profession he once followed. Apart from that, there is really more knowledge of the Mofussil, more insight into the character of the natives displayed in the short extract we have given, than in all the smooth flowing minutes of Mr. Grant. Regarding Mr. Eden's statement that a ryot cannot venture near a factory without a letter from a Magistrate, we only notice it because of its extreme absurdity, and to show the length to which a partisan will go. Our own experience of the Mofussil has been considerable, and we can only call to mind two instances in which we ever received official notes from the hands of a ryot. One was an order, bearing the seal of office, empowering us to seize and impress, in any way we pleased, with as much or as little oppression as we chose, every cart that could be laid hands upon, and send the same immediately to the station for the use of the 'Sircar,' in the year 1857.† The other was

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\* Letter of Mr. Eden.

† To avoid this hundreds of bullocks were driven into the Terai, carts broken up and the parts secreted, chiefly because of the extortion of the Government servants, through whom their pay would have to pass.



a few months later in the same year. It was a short and hurried note from an official, announcing that he had abandoned the station, and fled to Dinapore, leaving nearly all the Planters, with their wives and children, scattered throughout the district, where many of them remained until after the return of the officials with a body-guard of Sikhs, and not a child even was injured. It is perhaps hardly fair that we should mention this circumstance, for we were especially favoured, no one else, as far as we are aware, having received any notice of the flight or the probable anarchy that might be expected to result, and which assuredly would have resulted had not the presence of the Planters tended to maintain confidence. It is hardly necessary to mention, that, in alluding to the above case, we have no intention of reflecting in any way upon Civilians in general, or their conduct during the trying year of the mutiny. They bore themselves in 1857 as English gentlemen usually do, and the above is almost the only instance of disgraceful panic and abandonment of duty on record.

We cannot do better than close this portion of the subject with a few quotations from a Minute by Sir F. Halliday, in reply to Mr. Sconce's representation of oppression in Nuddea. The man who was knighted for his long service in India, and his able government of Bengal, says in 1854, 'For, granting that the whole of these obviously exaggerated stories were true, or supposing that a commission, instituted as Mr. Sconce would recommend, were to find that these oppressions really were of constant or frequent occurrence, what would follow? not that Indigo planting is inherently vicious and proper to be put down by Legislative enactment, but simply this, that, in the Zillah of Nuddea, the laws were inefficient and the tribunals of no avail; that the strong might oppress the weak with perfect impunity; that crime met with no punishment, and injustice went always unredressed.'

'But if things were really so, if the strong and the violent and the unscrupulous could in Nuddea work their will with impunity, does Mr. Sconce suppose that there would be no oppressors but English Planters? that no violence would be heard of but such as they perpetrated? that there would be nothing to tell of the hardness of Mahajuns or the severity of Zemindars?'

'Or is it to be supposed that the tribunals would be found to be vigilant and impartial towards all but English oppressors, and that none but Planters could commit violence under their jurisdiction?'

' Yet one of these conditions is what must have seemed to Mr. Sconce probable; he heard nothing of any tyranny but ' Planters' tyranny, and he has not alluded to any other kind of ' oppression. Had he supposed there was any such, he would ' surely have included it in his proposed enquiry. He must ' certainly have supposed, that in a general dissolution of Law ' and Justice none were found to turn anarchy to account but ' tyrannous Planters, or else that Law and Justice were in so ' singular a condition in Nuddea, that they dealt only with wicked ' natives, and allowed oppressive Planters to commit all sorts of ' mischief with impunity'

In the letter accompanying the above Minute the following pithy sentence occurs. ' He (the Lieut. Governor) thinks also ' that in the course of the daily administration of justice in your ' Court, you must have had, and will still further have opportu- ' nities of satisfying your mind, whether Law and Justice are indeed ' so utterly and shamefully relaxed and inefficient in the Zillah of ' Nuddea as they must be, if only a part of these enormous alle- ' gations be well founded.' This is the logical reply of a man of undoubted ability and immense knowledge of the country and the native character, (real, practical, personal knowledge, not gleaned from musty papers in 1835,) to the recommendation of the honest and well intentioned but feeble-minded late member for Bengal. Mr. Sconce had been then barely three months in an Indigo district, and must have possessed either more honesty or more acuteness than all those who had preceded him; a conclusion neither very complimentary to the service nor truthful. What a contrast between the clear, straightforward writing of Sir F. Halliday and the unworthy dodging of Mr. Grant. Let us take one instance. In an unguarded moment, the planters stated that the Indigo districts were occupied by ' a vast military force,' which was certainly an exaggeration. The statement was only intended to corroborate the assertion that the districts were in a disturbed condition, and was followed by ' where troops were never seen before.' Mark the advantage taken of the slip, while the real question is evaded. Mr. Grant enters into lengthy statistics shewing the exact proportion of troops to the population, and proves, with a chuckle, that the force is not ' vast,' that the districts are not disturbed, that life and property were never safer, and yet, in opposition to this statement, we find in his letter to Mr. Sconce, dated 23rd March 1860, that the people ' are now almost in rebellion to escape the calamity ' of cultivating a field with Indigo.'

We defend the planter generally, because we believe that, whatever may be his sins, he has not been fairly or honestly treated. In doing so, we must not be supposed to undertake a defence of the system, or the many admitted errors, and, perhaps in some instances, crimes, to which it has led. On the contrary, we give up the system as utterly unsound and altogether most unsatisfactory. But it was not necessarily, universally or even generally criminal, involving a suppression of the 'voice of conscience,' 'avarice and unscrupulousness.\*' We only notice the 'Blue Mutiny,' at all, because the authorship is attributed to the late president of the Indigo commission, and shall content ourselves with a very few remarks. Perhaps the most glaring and wilful misrepresentation is contained in the clap-trap appeal to country squires at page 101, on the subject of the measurement of land for Indigo. 'Country squires will be staggered to hear 'that a different standard of measurement prevails in regard to 'lands marked out for indigo, to that used for any other measurement!' No one knows better than the late president of the Indigo commission, that the *ultimate* result to the Ryot, is not in the least affected by the area he cultivates, but by the number of bundles he produces, and although the practice is an absurd and useless one, it involves neither fraud nor injustice, as this one-sided statement is intended to imply. The author of the 'Blue Mutiny' cannot be so ignorant of the customs of the country as not to know, that a different standard of weight prevails in almost every bazar in India. We buy salt-petre in the North West by a standard about one fourth larger than the one by which it is sold in Calcutta; a different standard prevails for almost every kind of grain, varying in almost every bazar, even when not more than twenty miles apart. It is an absurd and senseless custom, and so was the system of Indigo measurement, and the sooner both are abandoned the better. Why did not the author of the 'Blue Mutiny' proceed to 'stagger' the English squire still further, by informing him that the planter sold his Indigo by a standard about eight pounds lower than the Bazar maund? It would have been equally true, and, if put forward as a 'startling' fact, might have created an impression equally unfair and unjust. Again, 'it is shown conclusively, that in 'this way contracts were transmitted from the father to the son, 'and even to the grandson, and that the majority of the cultivators are now those of the second and third generation, who had 'no option in the matter, and no power to set themselves free!'

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\* Fraser's Magazine, January, 1861.



There is in this sentence the usual mixture of truth and the reverse, which we find throughout the article. It is, we believe, true that a considerable proportion of the Indigo cultivators are carrying on a cultivation begun by their fathers or even grandfathers, just as Civilians and others follow so generally the professions of *their* fathers. The son of an officer is more likely to enter the army than the son of a Civilian, and we all know that the native of India will go on cultivating a particular article, for no other reason than because his grandfather did it. But this is by no means the only or the chief cause in the present instance. We believe it is true, that the planter managed to keep the Ryot on the wrong side of the factory books, not by fraud or false entries, but by affording him too many facilities for getting into debt, by being, in every thing except Indigo matters, a soft and easy creditor, asking for no interest, and being generally in no hurry. And what native can resist the offer of ready money in advance for services which he trusts to time and chance to give him an opportunity of evading? If the law had been prompt in compelling the fulfilment of the conditions upon which the money was granted, it is quite possible, that only those who were driven to the factory by pressing necessity, might have entered into engagements at all, which, for the sake of present relief from absolute ruin, and of putting off the evil day, they might have consented to carry out. The lax state of the law, or rather the absence of any law suited to the case, no doubt tempted many Ryots to incur obligations which they might have shrunk from, had specific and summary penalties awaited non-fulfilment. Here the planter was undoubtedly wrong. It is a sin to tempt the poor for the purpose of obtaining a power over them, no matter whether the power so obtained is abused or not. We have seen that the planter offered far too many facilities for getting into debt to the factory. We believe the law is, that whoever inherits property inherits its debts, and in this lies the simple solution of the fact (for we do not deny that it may be so), that the cultivators of Indigo are now in the second or third generation. The Ryot took up the *debt*, and not the Indigo contract of his father, and it is quite possible that the planter did not care to inform him, that the only obligation inherited was a money one, which he had only to pay off, in hard cash, to be a free man. This was very likely an impossibility, for where was the money to come from, and so the Indigo cultivation went on. It is a demoralising state of matters, and we cannot hold the planters, who encouraged and fostered it, innocent. But it is, after all, only what exists on a large scale in heavily encumbered estates in England and elsewhere; an

inheritance, whether it consists of half a county in England, or a brass lotah and plough in Bengal, must be taken with its debts, and if they cannot be cleared off, they must be endured. The Ryot would no doubt have been glad to be rid of the hereditary incumbrance, but without paying for the release, and in all the evidence taken, we cannot call to mind a single instance where payment was tendered and refused.

We believe that the 'bad balances,' standing in most Factory books, would have been written off to profit and loss long ago, but that retaining them gave a certain power over the Ryot, which the planter was unwilling to give up, although he had no hope of ever recovering a rupee. It was part of a bad system which we do not for a moment defend, and there can be no doubt that too much risk was thrown on the ryot. If the planter had consented to openly take a share of the risk, which he virtually and actually did, as is proved by his 'bad balances,' a constant source of discontent would have been removed. Again, the measurement of bundles system, putting it in the best possible light, is admitted to have been unjust, as well as unsatisfactory to those most concerned, to the planter as well as the ryot, and profitable only to a thieving Amlah. Its condemnation was pretty general, and there was nothing to be gained by such a gratuitous departure from truth as the following: 'an iron chain which is made 'to compress the stalks as much as a *strong limbed inhabitant of 'upper India* can compress them.' The author of the 'Blue Mutiny,' while professing to give a fair representation of an important question, has descended to clap-trap appeals unworthy of what he upholds as a just cause, and the quotations we have given will show that it contains neither the truth, the whole truth, nor nothing but the truth.

We have given up the system as indefensible, but we believe it was more foolish and short-sighted than criminal. Mr. Grant says, it was inherited by the present generation; he might have added, from the honorable E. I. Company: and this is not the only system which the honorable Company handed down, and which has ended in something not unlike the bankruptcy and ruin which has overtaken the planters. It was their system that caused the mutiny. It was their system of reckless extravagance and loose expenditure, that caused the just past (?) financial crisis. They too, like the planters, worked upon borrowed capital, and so low was their credit that few could be found to lend, and the rate of interest had to be repeatedly raised to induce contributions. In 1857 their 'block' was as low in public estimation as the planters' now is, and could be purchased at from forty to seventy per

cent discount in the North West. The Bengal planting system was perhaps suited to the time in which it was instituted; but that time has passed away, and we can no more blame the planter for not seeing a-head, than we can blame the honorable Company for not discerning the approach of the mutiny and preparing to meet it. We do, however, blame both, for the signs of the times were as palpable in the one case as in the other; but blindness and want of the faculty of peering into the future may not amount to a crime, although it may be little short of one in men whose place it is to guard and rule and watch over a great empire. Both are guilty, but what different results have followed. The blindness of the planter has cost a few laes of rupees, and the worldly ruin of perhaps a score or two; the fatuity of the other has been paid for with oceans of blood and millions of money. It was said that the mutiny was inevitable, that it was a wonder it did not occur sooner. Mr. Layard stood over the 'well' at Cawnpore and wondered if we deserved it! Mr. Grant says the fall of the planting system was also inevitable, and wonders that it was propped up so long. But let us see the different treatment which the delinquents have received. On the one hand, those who inherited and carried on an old world system have been partially ruined, and mercilessly traduced, and on the other we find the same men sitting in higher places than before the break down of *their* system.

The measurement system of both has helped their downfall. The grasping measurement which included Oude, and fifty other places, in their 'Cultivation,' had at least as much to do with the mutiny as the different standards of the Planter with his rebellion. It is not to establish the innocence of the Planter that we write, but to show that those who have taken up the first stone, and cast it with a strength only to be accounted for by political insanity, are not themselves sinless.

We feel that an apology is required for referring at all to the vindictive evidence of Mr. Latour, and we do so with reluctance, but a few words are necessary, not because of the value of his testimony, but on account of his position. A Judge is a Judge, and the evidence of one in that position might carry weight with those, whose ideas of Judges are formed from knowledge of English functionaries. In answer No. 3918 of the Indigo Commissioners' Blue Book, Mr. Latour says: 'There is one thing more I wish to state, that considerable odium has been thrown upon the Mis-

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\* Appendix to Indigo Commission No. 12, abduction of Harmoni.



'sionaries, for saying that not a chest of Indigo reached England without being stained with human blood. That has been stated to be an anecdote. That expression is mine, and I adopt it in the fullest and broadest sense of its meaning, as the result of my experience as Magistrate in the Furreedpore\* district.' Mr. Latour adopts the statement in the 'fullest and broadest' sense, that is that not *a chest* of Indigo reaches England unstained with human gore. Now let us look a little further on. In answer No. 3926, Mr. Latour says 'I was thoroughly satisfied that no oppression whatever existed in the districts of Dinagepore, Malda, Bhagulpore, Monghir, Shahabad, and Gya, I might add that I am well aware that we have nothing of this kind in Patna, Tirhoot, and Chuprah.' Here we have a list of nine districts in which Mr. Latour declares that no oppression exists. The total quantity of Indigo exported may be taken at an average of a lac of maunds, though generally above that, and the district of Furreedpore has yielded, for the last ten years, not more than two thousand five hundred maunds per annum, or say two and a half per cent. This is the 'fullest and broadest' sense of Mr. Latour, and we will not dispute it. Need we say another word upon such evidence as this. If it had been given before a commission of Lunacy instead of an Indigo one, it would, we doubt not, have had full weight given to it!

Great as the misfortune might be to the country and to the individuals interested, if cruelty and oppression were the necessary accompaniments of Indigo cultivation, we should say, in Heaven's name let that cultivation be abolished, let it no longer remain a blot and a stain upon the land. Mr. Grant says the ryots are slaves, and for one moment we accept his statement. But he says they are inherited slaves, that the wrong is one of past generations chiefly. The Planters have been heirs, and their inheritance has been sanctioned by Government for generations.

There was once another case of grievous wrong, far worse than the mind of the worst Indigo Planter ever conceived, also an inherited one, also a sanctioned one, for as many generations, and how was *it* righted? When, with the advance of civilization the moral perception of the government and the people of England became brighter and purer, it was determined that the 'cattle,' with human souls should be set free at any sacrifice, and it was done at a sacrifice unparalleled in the history of the

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\* Appendix No. 2, Indigo Commissioners' Blue Book puts down under the head of 'serious offences' four cases in five years in Furreedpore.

world. Not by proclamations \*inciting rebellion amongst the slaves, not by telling them that they might offer 'irresistible pleas,' (though God knows they might have done so,) not by traducing their masters and holding them up as patterns of cruelty and corruption. No, vested rights, though vested in human flesh and blood, were respected, *because they had been inherited*, and because they had been sanctioned by those who now wished for their abolition, and—we need not tell how it was done, for every school boy knows.

There were two courses open to the Lieutenant Governor, by which to remedy the evils, the partial existence of which we do not deny. He might have adopted the West Indian one, and was bound to do so, if he believed that the ruin of vested and inherited rights must precede emancipation; and we have his own statement to pretty nearly that effect.\* 'I do not believe that 'the most sanguine of those who expected the sudden and violent 'break-up of a false system, ever expected that the crisis would 'pass over so peacefully as it has done, and on the whole, with so 'little injury to the great interest at stake.' It appears then that the most sanguine anticipated greater ruin than has accrued, so, surely, here was a case for compensation. It must not be forgotten for a moment, that it is the system, (it was the system in the West Indies,) and not the individual Planter that is held responsible for the evils attending the production of 'a Blue dye,' as Mr. Grant calls it, reminding one of Mrs. Caudle's definition of billiards, 'pushing balls over a green cloth.' It is Mr. Grant that has forced the comparison upon us. He has laboured to prove that ryots cultivating Indigo are in a state of 'predial slavery,' that though they cannot be bought and sold with a halter round their necks, they possessed, under a free and Christian government, of which he has been a member for thirty years, no more actual liberty than the African whose soul and body had been purchased for a handful of glass beads, or, second hand, for so many dollars. If Mr. Grant's statements are true, the Bengal ryot must be in a far worse position than the Negro, for the Planter is free from some of the obligations of the slave holder. Self interest, in the one case, compelled the provision of food and raiment, which it does not in the other. Mr. Grant may say that he has not compared the position of the ryot with that of the African slave. It is true that he has not directly done so, but we have always understood that the word 'slavery' was short for all

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\* Minute in reply to Indigo Planters' Petition, 17th August, 1860.

manner of oppression, such as is attributed to the Planters. We are far from holding such extreme opinions, or from believing that the cases are in any way parallel; we believe that the errors of the planting system could have been corrected in a manner as simple as it was just. It would have been easy for Mr. Grant through the officials of the Indigo districts, or easier, and better still, through the Planters' Association, to have made known his dissatisfaction with the system of Indigo cultivation; with the purely commercial question he had no right to interfere, and he was not called upon to do so. It was Mr. Grant's place, and it was clearly his duty, to prohibit any individual, no matter what his profession or character might be, from usurping the place of the law, and taking it into his own hands. But before the state is warranted in depriving a man of the means of self defence, it is bound to undertake, and show that it has the means, to guarantee the safety of his person and property. It is to be presumed that the power of self-defence which was hitherto allowed the Planter, was, in some measure, intended to reconcile him to the absence of more formal justice, and much that he has done under such license has been winked at to keep him quiet, and to prevent the cry for reform, which he was sure to raise, if interfered with, from being heard and causing enquiry. Mr. Grant's policy has been the reverse of what we have stated to be the acknowledged and fair rule. He has deprived the man of his weapons, (bad and dangerous ones, but under the circumstances necessary,) and has, until compelled reluctantly by higher authority, virtually refused the protection which, in their stead, he was bound to supply; and here we must refer to the suggestions on this head contained in the report of the Indigo Commissioners. But before doing so, we may be allowed to state a difficulty into which many have fallen while speaking of the report. We are quite unable to decide whether the report of the Indigo Commissioners influenced Mr. Grant, or whether Mr. Grant influenced the Commissioners. The first remark made by the Commissioners, when approaching the question of reform, will scarcely encourage the hope that any thing wise or liberal will be suggested. They say, with reference to the appointment of Planters as Honorary Magistrates, 'as a question of principle, there can be no doubt that the measure is *not* in accordance with the rule hitherto observed in Bengal.' As the rule 'hitherto observed in Bengal,' is the subject of almost universal condemnation, we should have thought this alone a pretty good reason for giving the measure a trial. The reason assigned is one, which, if carried out, would deprive every English squire of his commission of the peace,



namely having an interest in the district.\* The sum total of reform suggested by the commissioners is contained in one remark: 'Let sub-divisions and Magistrates be multiplied as the executive Government may think fit.' In the first place we all know what the executive Government 'thought fit' to do, and if the suggestion had been carried out in its widest sense, let us see what the commissioners themselves expected from it. 'But *if* the above provisions are honestly worked by competent Judges (half were to be natives,) not overburdened with arrears, and *if* the appellate courts have leisure to take up appeals as they become ripe for decision, it is quite clear that suits, other than suits for real property, *may* become as summary as the nature of things will allow.' Two 'ifs' and a 'may' in one sentence, and that the sentence upon which property to the value of several millions depended. Does not this fully justify the remark of the leading Journal of the world 'that in the decision of the majority, human incompetency had reached its height.' The course of events, since this practical denial of reform, or even the necessity for it, was issued, is a sufficient proof of incompetency, for all the measures which the majority opposed have since been adopted, but most of them too late. Special legislation was resorted to, to meet a difficulty which 'the nature of things' would not allow of being overcome in any other way, and was only thwarted by ignorance and arbitrary power, greater even than that of the majority. Why it was so thwarted it is not difficult to perceive. The decision of the majority was adopted by Mr. Grant and acted upon, or, as we said before, the majority acted in accordance with his known bias and fixed determination, that there should be no reform that could in any way favour the Planter. All the measures of Mr. Grant, as explained in his own minute,† met with the fullest approval of the Supreme Government, and he was assured of its 'cordial support,' if he continued to act on the principle on which he had hitherto acted. The Contract Act of Mr. Beadon met with the strongest opposition from Mr. Grant, and yet the Government, which had promised him 'cordial support,' altogether forgetful of the inconsistency, determined to pass it in spite of him. The melancholy result we have seen. The Supreme Government was either wrong in affording its 'cordial support' to Mr. Grant, or it was

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\* The Lieut. Governor of the North West Provinces has recommended the appointment of zemindars as Honorary Magistrates with jurisdiction *limited* to their own estates.

† Minute of 17th August 1860.

wrong to attempt to pass a bill which he opposed. The introduction of the Contract Act, the appointment of Small Cause Courts, the naming of Special Commissioners, were all measures thrust upon Mr. Grant by those, who afforded him the fullest approval to his refusal of them all! The inconsistency is too glaring to need further illustration, and was no doubt plain enough to Sir C. Wood. We conceive that Mr. Grant's chief condemnation is contained, not so much in what he has done actively *against* the planters, although instances and evidences of personal enmity are unfortunately not wanting, as in what he has refused to do *for* them. Active persecution was not required to complete their ruin; it was sufficient to let things remain as they were, and it was done. If honest convictions and motives of policy, however mistaken, ever influenced Mr. Grant, they have long since merged in a personal quarrel, in a war of recrimination of the bitterest, and, for a Governor, of the most undignified description. Great indeed must be the oppression which can justify a Governor in banishing millions of capital from a land, in which, in seasons of distress or famine, every rupee may be a month's life to a starving fellow creature.\*

Amongst a very large class, Mr. Grant has obtained credit, in contradistinction to the violence of his accusers, for moderation of views and language. Here it will be necessary to introduce rather a long extract from official correspondence to show, that Mr. Grant's claim to praise on the ground of moderate views and temperate language, is not so well founded as appears to be generally supposed. At the same time we may take the opportunity of remarking that, important as the Indigo question is in itself, we should not have dwelt upon it at such length, but for the fact, that it may be looked upon as the *Casus Belli* on which the great battle of the independent European is to be fought. If the legislation and the reform necessary for the protection of this interest cannot be obtained, it is vain to look for cotton, or any other of the thousand products India is capable of yielding under the intelligent supervision† of English capitalists. Mr. Grant has asserted that Indigo Planters are the only class demanding special legislation, that sugar producers and others find no difficulty in carrying on their business under the present laws. The first part of the assertion is no longer true,‡ if it

\* Great distress, is now impending in Bengal, owing to the damage done to the rice crops by rain and inundation.

† Lord Canning has just stated that in knowledge of cultivation the ryot has nothing to learn!

‡ Petition of Landholders' Association in favor of the Contract Act.

ever was; and the statement, that no demand was made on behalf of other interests, is accounted for by the fact, that no other agricultural interest, conducted by Europeans, with a thousandth part of the capital, or of the same precarious nature, had any existence. As soon as they make their appearance, we find them join in the clamour with the same zeal and readiness as the planters.\* Special legislation has been objected to on the ground of its being opposed to English law and English customs, and Mr. Grant asserts that if Indigo paid the Ryot there would be no fear of his breaking his contract. We all know that honesty is the best policy in the long run, but Mr. Grant will scarcely be prepared to deny, that, even if Indigo cultivation did pay the Ryot, the taking of advances, and *not* working them off, would pay him better, and this is what he has now practically the power of doing. The moral obligation of a contract has no existence in Bengal. Let us see how English principles of legislation are adhered to when it suits Mr. Grant's purposes to propose a departure from them. On the 17th of August 1860, in his reply to the assertion of '*confusion*' made by the Planters' Association, Mr. Grant says para. 3. 'There are no affrays, no forcible entries and unlawful carrying off of crops and cattle, no ploughing up of other men's lands \* \* \* since about July 1859. I have not heard of a single case of lawless violence in Nuddea†' For thirteen months, or nearly a year before the Indigo Commission commenced its sittings,‡ no single case of affray occurred in Nuddea, comprising two of the largest Indigo districts in Bengal. It was necessary to show some such result as this to prove the wisdom and success of his measures, and Mr. Grant, with the usual shortsightedness of those who seek to establish a case without scruple as to the means, makes it stronger than turns out to be convenient only four days later. We must now refer to the proposed departure from the principles of English legislation alluded to above, and we beg particular attention to the following extracts, bearing a date only four days later than the statement that affrays and disturbances of all kinds had ceased for thirteen months. One case of affray occurred in the Nuddea division on the 18th of June, and upon that one isolated case an affray law upon the Draco model is demanded.

\* See recommendation of Bombay Chamber of Commerce, petitions of Tea Planters and others.

† In appendix No. 2 to Indigo Commissions' report we find a tabular statement signed by Mr. Herschel giving a list of *twenty five* "*serious offences*" which had occurred in *Nuddea* between January and the 15th August 1860!

‡ Commission opened its sittings on the 18th May 1860.



Mr. Grant only mentions this one, for he dared not adduce the twenty-five others of which he had denied the existence.

'The affair seems to the Lieutenant Governor to be one of a class of cases, *the frequency of which*, under a civilized Government, must be felt to be a disgrace both to the administration and the legislature of the country. Whoever does not take all reasonable and fit measures to prevent such outrages, so far as lies in his power, participates as an individual in this disgrace.

'The Lieutenant Governor is convinced, and, as far as he is aware, all persons of Indian experience are convinced, that, in order to prevent such cases, a law, specially suited to the peculiar circumstances of this country, is indispensable, and, that he may not participate in the disgrace, which will continue to attach somewhere, if this shameful state of things continue, the Lieutenant Governor desires to urge upon you, in the strongest manner, to move the Legislature to pass a law, having this object, appropriate to the country for which it is their function to legislate. *The Lieutenant Governor begs that you will press upon the Council that they are not legislating for Middlesex, but for Bengal; and, therefore, that it is no argument against a law which is to be applied to Bengal, that such a law would be objected to in Middlesex. It is only because India requires peculiar legislation that it has a special legislature of its own.*

'Here is a case in which, according to the report, there can be no doubt, in the mind of any reasonable man, about the originators of the outrage, or their motive. Even if the report of the local officers were contested as to any point of fact or inference, the argument for a law would remain the same, because it cannot be questioned that affrays, with murder, such as the affair here reported, instigated by those interested in Zemindaries, Indigo Factories, Farms and other such concerns are common in Bengal. *If gentlemen hesitate to legislate suitably for the suppression of such outrages, because of notions of legislation such as are naturally and properly in vogue in England*, let them imagine what changes would come over the feelings of English Legislators if such affairs as this were to become common in England, the real criminals, who cause and profit by the outrages, being as perfectly secure from all legal penalty, as the most innocent infants in the country.

'The Lieutenant Governor therefore presses for the enactment of an Affray Law on the principle originally suggested; which is to subject to *very* heavy fine all persons in whose interest affrays are committed, and all persons whose *houses or lands* have been made use of by the persons guilty of such outrage in the

'course of the act, who *cannot prove that they and their servants*,  
'for whom they are responsible, did all that it was possible for  
'them to do, in order to prevent the crime.

'*It is for cases where proof is impossible that a law is required*  
'the effect of which will be to deprive the originators of such  
'crimes of the guilty profit for which alone they are committed.  
'This will go to the root of the evil.

'The mere execution of the Criminal Law upon the low agents  
'hired for such purposes as this, will not in Bengal put a stop  
'to this class of offence. If a dozen of the lattials and spear-  
'men who murdered Panchoo are hanged for the crime, the effect  
'would probably not be to raise the hire of such ruffians, for such  
'purposes, by two annas a day. This will not touch the instiga-  
'tors. It was not the lattials and spearmen who, according to  
'the present report of the case, and, indeed, according to any ra-  
'tional hypothesis concerning it, had an object in kidnapping, with  
'the chance of killing this influential Ryot. Those whose object  
'this was, having no law to fear for themselves, will not be deter-  
'red from doing the like again by the mere punishment of their  
'vile instruments.

'Besides the provision for the prevention of affrays above recom-  
'mended, the Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that the mere col-  
'lection, harbouring, or concealing of Lattials in a house, out-  
'house, or office, should subject the owner or possessor, or  
'master of servants in possession, to heavy fine; and that the hiring  
'or assembling of Lattials or Peons, or other men not being mere  
'labourers, in excess of a number of retainers to be registered by  
'the Magistrates, should be highly penal. As these men are procur-  
'able through their captains at a day's notice, it is only by punish-  
'ing those, who harbour and conceal them, when collecting, that  
'the Law can attain its object in discouraging the employment  
'of braves of this sort.'

This is the letter of a man whose temper had for the time  
quite overcome his prudence. It was very mortifying after the  
unqualified statement of the 17th, of the 'practical introduction  
of the supremacy of the law' to have to record on the 21st, that  
'the healthy state of things,' of which he had boasted, had no  
existence. And yet this is what Mr. Grant has done, if there  
is any meaning in English. He says 'this is one of a class  
of cases *the frequency of which* under a civilized Government  
&c.' There is no mincing the matter; one of the statements  
must be at variance with the truth. When it was necessary to  
vindicate his conduct and to disprove the charge of 'confusion,'  
he asserts that property is every where 'inviolable,' and that it

had been so for thirteen months, that there were 'no affrays.' We have shown above that this statement is totally devoid of truth. We have dropped the five months, from July 1859 to January 1860, and taken only the seven months of 1860, preceding Mr. Grant's declaration, with the exception of the first case which occurred 3rd December 1859, that there were 'no affrays,' that property was every where 'inviolable' since July 1859. The first case is thus headed by Mr. Herschel '*Illegal assemblage, assault, wounding.*' The cases are variously headed 'assault and wounding,' 'plunder and wounding,' 'assault and riotous assemblage,' '*Tumultuous assemblage*' 'Riotous assemblage and attempted attack on the Amjhupi Factory' (Dismissed.) The last in the list is 'violent assault and false imprisonment,' and we are told in English, certainly not entirely after Lindley Murray's own heart, 'This statement is published at length, on account of the important space this district has lately filled in public estimation.' Mr. Grant cannot be surprised if, after such misrepresentation as this is proved against him, his assertions fail to carry conviction, and are duly weighed, to see if they are probable, if he has any motive in misleading, before they are accepted as facts. When a case was to be made out to justify the introduction of a law, which would practically subject every man who could not prove a negative to a *very* heavy fine, or even, it is hinted, 'capital punishment,' Mr. Grant does not hesitate to demand this law because of the '*frequency of the cases*' of which he triumphantly announced the abolition under the ordinary law for thirteen months, *in the very same district.* Here are two statements directly opposed to each other, made within four days of each other, each having a distinct and separate motive, and it is a grievous but undeniable fact that one or other of them must be absolutely false. The truth, as we have shown, lies between the two statements, and, therefore, both are incorrect. The 'supremacy of the Law' has never been such as Mr. Grant affirmed it was, and the 'frequency of the cases' never so great as to demand, or in any way justify, the introduction of such a law as he proposes, compared with which martial law and the combined tyranny of Naples and Austria would be as nothing. Mr. Grant 'presses' for the enactment of a law \* \* which is to subject *to a very heavy fine all persons in whose interest affrays are committed. All persons whose homes or lands have been made use of by the persons guilty of such outrages* \* \* *who cannot prove that they and their servants, for whom they are responsible, did all that it was possible for them to do in order to prevent the crime.* It is truly lamentable to see the ruler of



a country larger than England and Scotland put together, so swayed by private pique, party feeling, and anger as to make him forget that truth and justice are above all things, and that he holds his high appointment to uphold the one and to dispense the other. If an affray were to take place upon any man's land, (it might be that he resided in Calcutta and his land lay in Jessore,) unless he could prove that he 'and his servants' had done all that was possible to prevent the crime, he must be subjected to very heavy fine. There is a clause in this act which, if carried out, would embrace some criminals whom Mr. Grant assuredly never meant it to include. The land in all India belongs to the Government, and Mr. Grant and his Magistrates are clearly 'responsible' for the Police. Did Mr. Grant intend that he and his Magistrates should be subjected to heavy fine for every case of torture and oppression and affray, originating with the Police? '*It is for cases where proof is impossible that a law is required,*' says Mr. Grant. 'This will go to the root of the evil.' Now we ask in the name of common sense, in the name of justice and fair play, was ever such a principle of legislation propounded since the time of the Druids? How a law can be expected to go 'to the root of an evil' which is to dispense with the one thing needful to the application of a law, namely proof, we leave it to others to point out, for we cannot.

In the same Blue Book\* we find a proclamation from Mr. Herschel, without date, addressed to ryots, who appear to have been amusing themselves by 'pelting' some planters with clods. After pointing out this 'great folly,' Mr. Herschel says, 'I shall send the Military police into that village whose inhabitants 'again *unjustly* beat a Sahib.' We do not believe Mr. Herschel had any intention of stating that they were at liberty to beat a Sahib, provided they did it justly, yet this is the clear meaning of the language, and can we doubt that the Ryots understood it so? We are far from wishing to impute bad motives to any one, but when we find that the mistakes have *all* one tendency, it is at least strange, if not suspicious. We have not been able to lay our finger upon a single instance, where the ambiguity could in any way be construed in favor of the Planter. We have not attempted to exonerate the Planters from the blame which can be justly attached to them, and it is by no means slight, but we have endeavoured to show that the faults of the Planter have been viewed through a powerful magnifier, and those of the Civil Service, and especially of the Lieutenant Governor, through a diminishing glass.

We have seen that Mr. Grant followed the advice of those who recommended that he should do nothing. It would have been well for him, and for all, if he had adopted the wise and just suggestions contained in the able Minute of Mr. Temple, (the only unprejudiced and by far the most talented member of the Commission,) and concurred in by Mr. Fergusson. In this able paper we find no such insinuations as the following; 'as regards the knocking down of houses, gentlemen of undoubted veracity have seen places where houses had been, and have known\* *Indigo growing* on deserted homesteads, understanding that the Ryot had absconded after some dispute, and that their houses had been demolished'† We say it would have been well for Mr. Grant if he had adopted the wise suggestion of Mr. Temple, instead of listening to the advice of those, whose recent acts‡ of spiteful meanness have brought more shame upon his Government, than all the injustice that has been perpetrated under or by it. It is a melancholy but undoubted fact, that a mean or ungentlemanly act meets with far more universal reprobation than more serious crimes, and the present instance is a striking proof of it. 'It is *mean*,' is the universal exclamation of those who will not trouble themselves to form any opinion upon its injustice. 'It was ungentlemanly,' and that is considered a stronger condemnation than 'unchristian.' More than that, it was a gross 'mistake,' which has been said to be the greatest crime of all.

It is denied that the Ryots ever laboured under the impression that it was the wish of the Government that Indigo cultivation should cease, or that they would have obeyed had a direct order been given to that effect, and yet Mr. Grant quotes a passage from Mr. Herschel's report, (page 467 of the Blue Book) proving beyond doubt that such was the impression. Mr. Herschel says 'I went to one of the villages in the Khalboleah Con-  
'cern, where the Ryots refused to sow. On explaining the law  
'to them they submitted, it being clear that they had taken ad-  
'vances. "If that is the order of Government," they said "of  
'"course we must sow," this is the general feeling.' There can  
be but one meaning in this. It is, as if the Ryots had said,  
'We took advances, but did not intend to sow, being under

\* If the gentlemen of undoubted veracity were *personally acquainted* with the Indigo, as this sentence states they were, it is a pity they did not ask it who put it there, and the history of the Ryot who had formerly occupied the land.

† Commissioners' Report para. 89.

‡ Circulation of Nil Darpan under Government frank.

' the impression that Government either did not wish or would ' not compel us to fulfil our engagements ; but *if* it is the wish of ' the Government that we should do so, of course we must.' It is clear that the Ryots required to be specially and individually informed that it was the wish of the Government that they should be honest, they having entertained a contrary opinion. What must have been the conduct of Government to create such an impression. Let our readers judge. The passage we have last quoted appears in the margin of Mr. Grant's Minute of the 17th August, to which we have had so often to refer, and could hardly have escaped Lord Canning's notice. If such a document had been submitted to Lord Dalhousie ! Since he left India we have had disaster after disaster, mutiny after mutiny, Black, White, and Blue.\* We are writing of the Government of Bengal and not of the Supreme Government, but it is impossible

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\* Mr. Grant had his share in the Black, as Governor of the central provinces in 1859, and managed it pretty much after the manner of the present Blue one ; but he had less power. Does Mr. Grant remember the discharge of 70 Christians from the Levy at Benares ? His character is thus described in the clearest work of that time, so well known as the "*Red Pamphlet*." ' Mr. Grant was a very different character. In the prime of life, active, energetic, and possessed of a certain amount of ability, he might, had he been trained in any other school, have done good service on the occurrence of a crisis. Unfortunately, he laboured under a complete ignorance of the habits and customs of the natives of upper India, accustomed, during his service, to deal only with Bengalees (in Calcutta), he had imbibed the extraordinary notion that they were a type of the Hindustanees generally. His vanity was so great that he would not stoop to demand information, even from practical men of his own service. With the supercilious manner, which is so often the accompaniment of a confined understanding, he pooh-pooh'd every suggestion which was at variance with his settled ideas. Of the Sepoys he had no knowledge whatever, although with respect to them he was always ready to offer a suggestion. Of military men in general he had a jealous dislike, which prompted him on every occasion to oppose any plans or suggestions offered by a member of that profession. He was an adept at intrigue, and being possessed of a practical knowledge of revenue matters, a plausible manner, an easy address, and considerable influence at the India House, he had gained a seat in Council at an earlier age than was customary. As a practical man he had always been a failure. It was his advice, given because Mr. Halliday proposed an opposite plan, which delayed for seven or eight months, the proclamation of martial law in the Santhal districts ; and it will be seen that on the occasion of the Mutiny at Barrackpore his pernicious influence was always opposed to those prompt and severe measures, on the execution of which the safety of the empire depended. These faults are attributable to the evil action of the school in which he was trained, on a disposition naturally haughty and supercilious. Had he never been a civilian, had he been trained to depend on his own exertions from the moment of his entrance into life, his career would have been more useful to his country and more honourable to himself.'



to forget, that the misrule of the one could not have been continued for a day, but for the 'cordial support' of the other. We fear that Lord Canning is but too ready to afford 'cordial support' to any one who will save him trouble. It is deputations he most fears, and if they can be kept off, things may drift on. Indolence and amiability, combined, have placed him in the position of the unjust Judge, for all that he has done, he has done because of importunity, and what was truly said of his measures in 1857, may be as truly said in 1861. The Post Office stamps 'Too late' and 'Insufficient' would apply as well to the special Commissioners in Bengal, as to the treatment of mutineers at Dinapore.

It is as untrue to assert that the present strife about a 'Blue Dye' in Bengal is a war of principle, as it is for the Northern states of America to proclaim (which they are beginning to do,) that they are warring against slavery. It is a personal strife arising out of hereditary jealousy, intensified by supposed interest. No, the free states as readily yielded up the escaped slave to torture and death, as Mr. Grant's Courts have, for the last half century, handed over the recusant ryot to *his* persecutor. There was, perhaps, a murmur of disapproval in both cases, and it must be admitted that the free states offered greater facilities for the recovery of 'property' than the Government of Bengal, but we have never heard that the 'difficulties' in Bengal were intended as a feeble substitute for emancipation.

It is a remarkable fact that, where the initiation of a 'system' was left to the Interloper himself, it has given general satisfaction, and has not been rebelled against. It is only where the Honourable East India Company established it, and then handed it over to its servants 'to afford them a means of remitting their 'fortunes home, as well as for the benefit of Bengal' that the system has been found to be rotten.

The district of Tirhoot (including the smaller districts of Chumparun and Chupra, where the system is the same,) produces from one fourth to one third of the whole out-turn. As the Tirhoot system has not been attacked, it is not necessary to enter upon a defence of it, but a few remarks, pointing out, not that it is barely tolerable to the natives, but a positive and great benefit to them, may be useful. It is admitted that the Tirhoot Ryot can sustain no loss. A Tirhoot Factory capable of producing 1,000 maunds of Indigo, in a good season, will spend from eighty thousand to a lac of rupees, at least sixty thousand of which will be expended within a radius of ten miles. The land actually occupied with Indigo will not, on an average exceed

one twentieth of the area known as the '*Dehaut*.\*' The Ryot has therefore nineteen-twentieths of the land at his own disposal, and for the remaining twentieth there is probably more actual cash expended than for all the rest. The average rent may be taken at two rupees per bigah, and the average cost of cultivation, including *nij* and *ryotty* not under, and now considerably over, twenty rupees, or ten times the rental of the land. The benefit of this is so self-evident, that we need not do more than simply mention it as a fact capable of the clearest proof. A factory, of the size mentioned above, will require, during the manufacture, at least five hundred carts, and the usual advance made for each (from one to two months before they are required,) may be safely taken at twelve rupees. It is frequently much more, and we have known Ryots receive as much as thirty rupees to enable them to buy bullocks. All this is given without interest, and, in the case of the Ryot who receives thirty rupees, it cannot possibly be worked off under two years, and may take three. Carts are comparatively useless in Bengal for there are no roads, but this is not the case in Tirhoot. There are some excellent 'Imperial' roads made from funds raised locally by Ferries. Some Planters are on the Ferry Fund committee, and it is not unusual to give the Planter near whose Factory an 'Imperial' road passes, the charge of that portion of it, whether a member of the Committee or not. Besides the above, each Factory has roads of its own, made and maintained at its own expense, *but open to all*, without exception, unless it happens to run through the Factory compound. We are quite safe, indeed we are probably far below the mark when we state, that there cannot be less than 200 miles of private road, private only in the sense of being made from private resources, in this one district. It will be a great and glorious day for India when those who are an 'embarrassment to the Government' assert, in a similar manner, their 'indefeasible rights' from one end of the land to the other.

It is *contact*, constant, daily contact, with the European, and that only that will surely but slowly regenerate India. It is that only that will remove the 'antagonism of race' of which, a great part, as it stands at present, has sprung from and been perpetuated in the Council Chamber of Calcutta. The European abhors his customs, condemns his immorality and lying, but does not hate the native. If an approach to such a feeling does exist, it can be traced to those who for years have struggled to place

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\* The area over which the Factory influence is supposed to extend.

his property, his liberty and his life at the mercy of Idolaters, to subject him to the jurisdiction of a people whose very souls are tainted with hereditary corruption, the pollution of centuries. If such attempts were only made by the avowed, the known enemies of the Interloper, it would be matter which could create no surprise; but it is painful to find those we most respect joined with them, led away in pursuit of the phantom of the equality of the two races, conjured up by benevolence, and springing from the wish that it might be. It is the earnest wish of all who care for India and its millions of benighted, degraded inhabitants, that the Asiatic should equal the European, but many a generation will pass away before this comes to pass. There are two ways of producing equality, one by filling up hollows, and the other by cutting down elevations; and the last is the plan adopted by our rulers, either because the cutting down is pleasant, or because the filling up seems hopeless. The next most agreeable thing to climbing to the top is to pull down those who are there, and need we wonder if the British Indian Association adopts the arguments of its advocates in Council, and proclaims with a loud voice the 'eternal principle' that all men are equal, and yet the members of the British Indian Association would consider it pollution to enter the room in which a 'Dome'\* was engaged in laying down a mat. Is there a native in all India who, after the events of 1857, would have dared to raise his voice in opposition, if the name of European had been entirely omitted from the Arms Act? There is one kind of equality which is possible and which we should all rejoice to see. Let the law for the native, let the courts to which he is amenable be made as pure as the Supreme Court. Let the object be to make the law equally good, not equally bad for all. Let us have no more such childish foolishness as this, 'If it is good enough for the native it is good enough for the European.' It is *not* good enough for the native, never was, and never will be, until the whole system is changed, until trained men take the place of ignorant boys.

It would be a great mistake to suppose, that because the great benefit of Indigo to the population in general is clearly demonstrated, there are no difficulties arising from a corrupt police, and the want of a practical, available and summary law in Tirhoot.†

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\* Domes are low caste men who eat dead animals, and are employed up country in making and laying down bamboo mats. We have seen a Rajpoot refuse to enter a room in which one was so employed.

† On one occasion, on being refused an unreasonable demand, 400 cartmen struck in the middle of the manufacture, and walked off to their villages. What was the Planter to do? If he entered a civil *summary*



There are difficulties which can only be met by a Contract Act. But it is a curious fact that the farther we proceed from the seat of Government, the greater number of *miles* we put between us and the Bengal Civilians, the more tranquil and peaceful we find the people, and the more respected we find the Planters. A running stream would appear to have a similar power in checking this, as well as some other evil influences, for no sooner do we cross the Kurrunnassa\* than we find the Commissioner reporting, 'The Planters are almost invariably a blessing to the surrounding country. If a landed proprietor is pressed for money he gets a loan from a Planter, and in return gives him a good deal of land to cultivate Indigo upon. If a poor tenant is being squeezed by an oppressive landlord, and is in danger of forfeiting his tenant-right, he takes an advance from the Planter to free himself from his difficulties, and gives him half his fields to sow Indigo in. I have known this district for eleven years, and have never heard of any oppression on the part of the Planters, whom I have always, on the contrary, found to be the firm supporters of the law, and ever ready to assist in looking after the peace of the district, and in caring for the roads and public thoroughfares in their neighbourhoods.'

It is thus all the way up, beginning, we may say, at Bhagulpore till in the North West we lose nearly all trace of the 'Blue Dye,' in the districts between Delhi and the Punjaub. It cannot be fully accounted for by the different habits, or by the higher morals of the people. They are undoubtedly a finer, hardier and more manly race than the Bengallee, but the morality of the Delhi Mussalman and the Goojur of the surrounding territory is about upon a par with that of the Bengallee, and their fanaticism and detestation of the "Kaffir" far greater; so we must look for a complete solution of the problem elsewhere, and we shall not have to look far before we find one. Does the Civilian out of Bengal keep a tighter hand upon his countrymen than the Civilian in Bengal? Does he keep the Interloper at a greater distance, and thus secure greater freedom from bias, which, it has been asserted, intimacy creates, as well as a feeling of distrust in the minds of natives? Does the Civilian of the

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suit, it was *possible* that a decree might have been obtained in time for next season and 100,000 Rs. would have been lost. He took a shorter plan. He sent for the Darogah of the adjoining Tannah, only a mile distant, gave him 50 Rupees and the carts were at their work next day! Some time after he mentioned the circumstance to the Magistrate. It is very horrible, but who is to blame? Let Mr. Grant answer.

\* The limit of lower Bengal.

North West condone that which his fellow Civilian in Bengal so loudly reprobates, but yet tolerated so long, when his love for the Interloper was assuredly not greater than it is now? We know that it is none of these things, for we are told that out of Bengal there is nothing to condone; that it is only surrounding the very throne of Bengal that 'oppression and cruelty' and tyranny have any existence. We know that the Civilian and the Planter meet on terms of intimacy and equality, (when both are gentlemen,) drawing together and becoming more friendly, until jealousy is almost lost, precisely in proportion as the distance from Calcutta is counted by tens or by hundreds of miles.\* It is the 'system' that has done it all, or nearly all, for we are willing to allow *something* for the habits of the people, but in a conquered and semi-barbarous country it is the Government that makes the people. It is the 'system,' but not the 'system' of the Planter only, though that has had its share. It is the system of the Government of Bengal. It is the system of the Bengal Civilian; and until all three are changed, we shall never see it much better. The first has received a blow the recoil of which will ere long destroy the second, and the third is going, and good speed to them, and may we have something better in their place.

The feeling of intense bitterness engendered by the feeble vacillation, the ruinous incapacity, exhibited by Lord Canning in 1857, has passed away. The danger, the destruction he was bringing upon all has been providentially averted. The danger has passed, and people have forgotten the weakness and half the misery it wrought. The voices of those who suffered most we have never heard. They lie buried at the bottom of the 'Well' at Cawnpore. If we were writing of the great Mutiny we could tell how they might have been saved; how the blood of the 800, is on the heads of the council and the clique of Calcutta, who treated the greatest rebellion of modern ages as a 'causeless panic.' But the shortest memory amongst us still retains a sufficient recollection of that fearful time to preclude the hope,

\* A Social Barometer would indicate pretty nearly as follows :

Calcutta.	Intimacy	Nil.	Jealousy	Intense.
100 from do.	do.	do.	do.	do.
300 do. do.	do.	slight.	do.	Weaker.
500 do. do.	do.	Considerable.	do.	Very little.
700 do. do.	do.	{ Friendly, ladies } a little shy.	do.	Scarcely perceptible.
1000 do. do.	do.	{ Very friendly, ladies } compare babies and "spend the day."	do.	None.

the smallest trace of hope, of any good to India from Lord Canning. Experience is lost upon a character so indolent, so stubborn, so destitute of either originality or energy. Mistakes arising from unavoidable ignorance in March 1857, and from evil counsel might be pardoned; but we ask, did March 1858-59-60-61, bring any change? Did the councillors who had betrayed and misled him lose their influence, were they replaced by others? The Governor General had neither the energy, the determination, nor the ability to shake them off and think for himself. He was afraid to stand alone. We all remember the celebrated confiscation proclamation in Oude. How Lord Canning first defended it as necessary and just, how he afterwards said it was only a threat never intended to be executed, how, on being taunted with issuing a mock threat, he strove to prove that it had been carried out, fully and entirely, and had been successful.\* Lord Canning professes a desire to encourage European capital, and we do not doubt his perfect sincerity, but we have no hope and no trust in his ability to act up to his professions and wishes.

He has allowed a measure which above all others would give an impetus to capital and energy, (the sale of land in fee simple,) to remain under the 'consideration' of the Lieutenant Governor for nearly eighteen months, and when Mr. Grant's scheme does at last make its appearance, because it could no longer be withheld, it is clogged, in every clause, with the policy, with the 'rule hitherto observed in Bengal,' and is acceptable to no one. Mr. Grant cannot make up his mind to abandon all control over the land, even though it be only a howling waste of jungle. He must retain the power of interference and resumption. He fears that land jobbers will buy it all up, that the desire for permanent investment in India, without return, is so strong, that British capitalists will rush to secure a wilderness on speculation, and prevent the rapid progress of clearing, cultivation, and improvement, which has been 'hitherto observed in Bengal.' This is not the real reason, it is but a cloak, and a transparent one, to cover the hereditary jealousy of independence, a mask to hide the dreaded face of the Collector, and to make the European Zemindar, what the native one has ever been, a trembling abject vassal. If we could forget what he has been as a Governor, and only remember that he is an English Gentleman, we might appeal to Lord Canning, we might ask him for justice, even for encouragement; but the 'amlah' that betrayed him in 1857, through whose eyes

\* We know that the proclamation was never generally known in Oude, it was burked by the authorities.



he looked when he could see no 'solid standing ground' for making a distinction between those who were murdering and those who were being murdered, through whose evil influence he was induced to spurn the offer of aid that might have saved Cawnpore, surround him still, and we refrain. England may find a substitute for Indigo or may do without it, she may look on with indifference and apathy while the destruction of an article, which however useful, is not essential to her, is going on. But there is no substitute for cotton. It cannot be done without. It is meat and drink to millions. Let the people of England only realise that the 'system' of administration, that the 'rule hitherto observed in Bengal' will obstruct in any way, will tend, in the remotest degree, to diminish the export of cotton by only a single bail, and the whole 'system' will be swept away like a cobweb. Let the Civil Service beware. It has not kept pace with the times any more than the Planters. Every step it has taken forward it has uniformly endeavoured to retrace as soon as the pressure that compelled it was removed. When it could no longer deport him, it made the independent European little better than an outlaw: it has humiliated him with a relentlessness that never slumbered, that never lost an opportunity. What social outlawry left unaccomplished it has tried to complete by Black Acts and Penal Codes. Let the Civil Service look back upon the work of the last two years. Before it could compel the planter to be liberal it ruined him. They said his system was too rotten to be capable of repair. It was old and full of abuses and it must die. Let them read the lesson, for there is another system older and more decayed, as devoid of liberality, and with as little foresight. Toleration is not sufficient; we ask for encouragement, which is not only not inconsistent with the welfare of India but the source of her ultimate regeneration. It is the encouragement afforded by protection and justice, and it is not very much to ask, but it is sufficient.

Since the preceding part of this article was put into the printer's hands, new and most important evidence on the subject has been laid before the public. The vindictiveness with which certain Officials, who have taken a leading part in the Indigo controversy, have acted, has been established in a Court of Law,\* not indeed in their own persons, but in that of their tools. The tardy but unmistakeable disapproval of the Supreme Government has obviated the necessity for further appeal to the Law. The Gover-

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\* The Trials for Libel consequent on the publication of the '*Nil Darpan*.'

nor General has administered a dignified and stern rebuke, to all concerned in 'acts which were not only unauthorised but 'quite unjustifiable.' Lord Canning says, 'Mr. Seton Karr 'is 'chargeable, not only with an unwarrantable assumption and 'indiscreet exercise of an authority which did not belong to 'him, but with a neglect of duty, which it is difficult to reconcile 'with the motives that led him to such an assumption.' This is a reproof which it has seldom or never been the lot of a high Government servant to receive, and, at the same time, be allowed to retain his appointment. But hard as it has hit, and truly as the shot has been aimed, the effect of the *ricochet* is still greater. It has glanced from Mr. Seton Karr, after inflicting a serious bruise, the effect of which cannot fail to be permanent, and has lodged deep at Alipore. 'The Governor General could 'have wished, that these errors had been noticed by His Honor with 'the gravity which they deserve, as very serious infractions of the 'Secretary's duty.' Through this veil of official language it is easy to see the severe displeasure of Lord Canning, because 'where condemnation from the head of that Government (of 'Bengal) was due, it should have followed at once in such a manner, as to mark unmistakeably His Honor's displeasure, and to 'render it impossible to implicate his Government in acts which 'were not only unauthorised but quite unjustifiable.' This is a grave and serious charge against the head of a Government. It is that Mr. Grant has neglected to punish or has even condoned the act of a subordinate so unjustifiable that the Governor General has thought it his duty to forbid his being again employed in such a responsible position. The dignified sense of justice displayed by Lord Canning in this matter, is quite consistent with the estimate of his character which we have formed from his career in India. He has not yet done any thing to indicate any change of policy, and we are not sanguine enough to hope for any of a sufficiently decided character, to meet the wants of India, or to restore order and give good government to Bengal. As we said before, however, we have most perfect faith in the gentleman, and this last Minute has shown that it was not misplaced; but we have none in the statesman—in the Governor General. We shall now leave this most disgraceful episode in the Indigo question, and turn to other and even more important official documents bearing upon the same subject.

The Report of Mr. Montresor, one of the two Special Commissioners to the disturbed Indigo districts of Nuddea, has lately been given to the public here: but it is confidently asserted that its dispatch to England took place three weeks earlier. As it

was decidedly unfavourable to the Planters, we regret to say, that the conduct of the Government of Bengal has hitherto been such, as to induce a ready belief, that it would not hesitate to forward accusations in advance of any possible refutation that might be offered by those accused. A charge of such manifest unfairness and dishonesty should not be advanced without some proof, and we refer our reader to the note at the foot of this page,\* for an instance where the same course was followed, with this difference, that the existence of Mr. Montresor's Report was so well known, that it could not be altogether withheld, as in the case noted below.

We will now refer very briefly to the Report itself. It is to be regretted that the replies of Messrs. Larmour and Hills should have been so long delayed, but we have no hesitation in saying, after a careful and impartial perusal of them and the Report, that the refutation of the serious charges, we might say of all the charges, is full and complete. Mr. Montresor is convicted of writing an entirely one-sided report, of publishing the statements of the Ryots, with his own inferences and deductions, and of suppressing the explanations, complaints and grievances of the Planters. If we were disposed to admit the not very probable supposition, that Mr. Montresor himself believed every representation made by the Ryots, he was bound in common fairness, for the sake of truth and justice, to give the same publicity to the other side. If the weight of testimony, in his opinion, was on the side of the Ryots, he was at liberty to say so. But that there was something to be said on the Planters' side, and that it has been said in a manner most creditable to Mr. Hills, no one will deny. Although his investigations have been carried on in another district, the Report of Mr. Morris, to which we shall presently refer, corroborates in a remarkable manner the statements of Messrs. Larmour and Hills. Although it may vary in intensity in different localities, we are not aware that any difference in the manner of the opposition to Indigo has been discovered in Nuddea and Jessore; when, therefore, Mr. Hills asserts that such a state of affairs exists, as he and others have represented, when Mr. Morris describes an exactly similar state of matters

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\* No. 3. *Indigo Selections* was forwarded to England without the Planters being made aware of its existence, and formed the basis of official accusations against them. On intelligence of this reaching India the Association made an application to the Government of Bengal for a copy, and met with a refusal. Subsequently, copies were granted, but not until they had done their work. The book contained matter on which an action for libel has, we believe, been instituted in the Supreme Court.



in adjoining districts, agitated from the same cause, we cannot hesitate, but must accept Mr. Hills' calm and temperate statements as true, and Mr. Montresor's as giving a false and one-sided impression. It has been stated that Mr. Montresor avowed ignorance of Zemindaree accounts, and placed himself in the hands of one openly opposed to the Planters, but this is no sufficient excuse. The report has gone forth with his name attached, and any obloquy that it may incur, any condemnation it may receive, will fall upon him and upon him alone. If he has misused the high trust that was reposed in him, to further the ends of those in power, whose antipathies and wishes are but too well known, the shame and degradation such conduct deserves will come in its own good time.

The Minute of the Lieutenant Governor to which we have had so often to refer, asserts that the Indigo districts are not in a state of 'confusion,' that the 'Law is in full force,' 'the life, property and personal liberty, even of the humblest cultivator, were never before more secure than they are now in those districts.' His own Special Commissioner Mr. Morris says 'The present condition of affairs in the interior is truly deplorable. The prospect presents one of two alternatives; either litigation to an unlimited extent, or the weaker side (the European) must retire from the field.' 'The disorganised state of the country was apparent from the fact that, on my arrival at Salgamoodiah, the Darogah of Hurrinarayanpore presented me with a list of no less than 100 defendants, concerned in outrages connected with the Factory, who were at large, and whom he had orders to apprehend. In some villages he actually declared himself afraid to go lest he should be speared, and this in spite of there being 30 Military Police stationed within 100 yards of his Tannah, and a like number two miles off' 'Mr. Stuart the Deputy Magistrate told me, that he had himself seen several hundreds of people, armed with spears and bamboos, assemble at a moment's notice, on the beat of a drum or some such signal. He suddenly went to the spot on an application to protect the servants of Mr. Kenny. He was not at first recognized as the Magistrate, and so the demonstration was made, but immediate flight followed his attempts to seize the participators in it.' Again, 'I am impressed with the conviction, that the Ryots have, as a rule, wilfully, and without sufficient cause withheld payment of their rents, and that this recusancy on their part, has derived its force mainly from the ill feeling that has sprung up in their minds towards the European Planters, on the subject of Indigo cultivation' If our space permitted, we could quote a great deal more to the

same effect, namely, that there has been and still is, unlawful combination, that life and property are not 'inviolable,' that there has been no 'practical introduction of the supremacy of 'of the Law' that the 'confusion is truly deplorable,' that it is increasing, that the 'breach is widening,' and that 'the crisis demands that prompt, stern and impartial justice should be administered.'

Can any one for a moment doubt but that this report gives a fair and true representation of the state of affairs in the Indigo districts? It is, from beginning to end, a contradiction of all that Mr. Grant has written on the subject, and we cannot but respect the moral courage of the man who has dared to tell him, that the condition of the country he is appointed to govern is 'truly deplorable,' that 'the crisis demands that stern and prompt justice should be administered.' Mr. Morris deserves the commendation of every honest man, not because he has benefitted the cause of the Planter, but because, with a thousand motives and inducements to gloss over matters, he has dared to tell the honest truth, although that truth could not fail to be unacceptable to the man upon whose favor all his present hope of preferment depends. Mr. Morris has told him that the 'confusion' he has denied does exist; that the unlawful combination has been universal; that the Supremacy of the Law, of which he has boasted, has no existence; that the Police fear to enter villages 'lest they should be speared:' in short, that the condition of the country he has represented as peaceful and prosperous, is 'truly deplorable.' And now a serious question arises. Did Mr. Grant know the real condition of the Indigo district, and knowingly and wilfully misrepresent it? Did he cry, Peace, when there was no Peace, lest his own theories might be upset and his misgovernment proclaimed? Or was he ignorant of all that he should have known? Will he plead guilty to the first? Will he admit that he had pledged himself to a denial of justice, that he was actuated by a spirit of bitter animosity, a desire for revenge upon those who had attacked him? Or will he admit the second? It is a dilemma in which a choice is difficult, and we leave it to Mr. Grant to make his own.

Our space forbids our entering more fully into the various matters discussed in Mr. Morris's able report, and it is not necessary, for all those interested cannot fail to have perused it for themselves. It contains, however, one characteristic instance of native ingratitude to which we would call attention. We refer to the case of *Azeem Kahar*, 'an aged and blind Ryot.' This man had benefits, such as are rare indeed, heaped upon him, had been tended in sickness and trouble, had land given him at half

its ascertained value, and was finally pensioned, and yet we find him vociferating loudly for justice against an oppressor! Does not this case show the folly and danger of assuming, that because a native complains of oppression there is necessarily any foundation whatever for the charge. Perhaps this 'aged and blind Ryot' formed a link in that dismal chain of misery and suffering which extended for seventy miles. We doubt not that many with equal cause took part in that fabulous demonstration. The great problem, 'the development of the resources of India' will be finally and satisfactorily solved, when some future traveller shall find such 'oppressors' as Messrs Kenny and Hills, in every province of Hindostan.

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ART. V.—*The Daughters of India: their Social condition, Religion, Literature, Obligations and Prospects.* BY THE REV. E. J. ROBINSON. London: NISBET & Co., 1860.

2. *A Prize Essay on Native Female Education.* BY PROFESSOR BANERJEA, Calcutta: LEPAGE & Co., 1848.

3. *Domestic Manners and Customs of the Hindus of Northern India.* BY BABOO ISHUREE DASS, Benares: 1860.

4. *The Eastern Lily Gathered; with observations on the position and prospects of Hindu Female Society.* BY THE REV. E. STORROW. Calcutta: 1856.

THE women of India out-number the entire population of Great Britain, France and Italy; any custom or law therefore affecting their welfare, carries with it a large amount of good or evil to no inconsiderable portion of the human race. The chivalrous sentiments of Englishmen, and the benign and elevating aspects of our sublime faith toward the sex, alike require that we should understand the evils associated with female life in this country, and discover the means by which those evils may be eradicated.

It is by no means an easy matter to give a faithful portraiture of the relative condition of women in India. An intelligent, but not impartial Hindu writer has justly remarked; 'perhaps no question relating to Indian manners has received more attention from, and is yet less generally known by Europeans, than the character and condition of the female sex in this country.\*' It is much to our honour that our sympathies have been so powerfully drawn toward this subject; and if we have failed correctly to comprehend it, the causes of our ignorance and misunderstanding are not far to seek. It is said to be a trait of our Anglo-Saxon race, that we are intolerant of the customs of other nations, and therefore somewhat unable to estimate them at their proper value. There may be some truth in this, though it is a remark admitting of a much wider application, and truer of most other races than of ours; but we are inclined to think

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\* "Essays on Miscellaneous Subjects," by Shoshee Chunder Dutt. Published by D'Rozario and Co. Calcutta. This volume is deserving of more attention than it has received, as illustrating the manner in which various social questions are viewed by educated natives.

that in the case before us, our vice leans to the side of virtue; for, seeing so much in the position of Hindu women that grates upon our feelings as Englishmen and Christians, we are apt to express our dislike in too sweeping, language and to overlook what may be said in explanation of some of its phases. But if we are prejudiced, Hindus, we regret to say, do little to enlighten us. Old India resents as an insult, or suspects as an insinuation, any enquiry into his domestic affairs. Etiquette requires him not to notice his wife before others, and her not even to accost him. To speak to her affectionately in presence of another, is to make himself ridiculous. He rebukes all approach to familiarity by never uttering her name to a third person, nor speaking of her more closely than as the mother of his son or daughter. A near relation may venture, in general terms, to ask after the health of the female members of the household, and a very 'old friend of the family' might venture to enquire, if one of them were in 'the article of death,' 'are *all* of the house well?' But to resolve this vague, nebulous form of speech into anything more specific and definite would certainly endanger his reputation for courtesy, if not induce grave doubts respecting his designs. Is the 'Mletcha' then, likely to receive 'the fullest information,' who, prompted by 'an enquiring turn of mind,' seeks from Old India a knowledge of the manners and customs which regulate female society? Nor, unfortunately, does Young India prove a helper where his father fails us. Like a guerilla soldier, mortified that he cannot remain in the open country, and holding every rock and mountain peak as he slowly retires, that he may at least have a safe shot at his advancing, victorious adversary, he is very fond of repaying himself for the admissions he is compelled by his candour or enlightenment to make respecting the unwise and offensive customs of his country, by defending other customs which are hardly defensible, with reasons which conceal or ignore one half the truth, and by turning sharp round upon us with some broad assertion which really means, 'after all our customs are almost as good as yours; and if some of ours are bad, you are not without a considerable number which greatly stand in need of reformation.' Thus, for instance, in meeting the statement of the Abbé Dubois, who affirms that 'he had never seen two Hindu marriages that really united 'the hearts of the parties closely,' the writer we have already cited, says, 'No, not at the time, Abbé, for then they are 'children; but we will undertake to cite three instances of happy 'matches amongst the Hindus, for every two any person, in 'support of the Abbé's assertion, will point out to us amongst

‘the European community. We are prepared to admit that ‘Hindu husbands do frequently prove heartless tyrants, but certainly not more so than husbands in England, France and Italy. ‘Husbands closely united to their wives are scarce, we fear, all ‘over the world ; even for all the “love passages” that precede ‘marriage in many countries.’ In another place he says, ‘We ‘do not delight to talk scandal, but it is by no means a secret, ‘that in Europe, principally on the Continent, it is not uncommon for a young married woman to receive the most ardent ‘love-letters from her admirers.’ We shall not stop to refute these false and exaggerated statements ; thy prove how small an amount of reliance we can place on those whose knowledge is thus warped by prejudice, and an inclination to depreciate.

We are not, however, without the means of forming a just estimate of the position of women in this country. Hindu writers are by no means reticent on this subject. Lawgivers, philosophers, poets and historians alike contribute freely to enable us to understand what men think of women. Added to this, there are certain great facts patent to the observation, which no reasoning can justify to a healthy Christian mind, and which stand out prominently and offensively on the surface of native society, like huge tumours and excrescences only fit for the surgeon’s knife. Women are almost always married before they are ten years of age : reading and writing are deemed superfluous for them, if not pernicious ; and not one in every three hundred can read : the sentiments universally entertained of their capacities, uses and dispositions are contemptuous and brutal in the extreme : they live secluded from society, either because they are deemed too weak or too wicked to use their liberty wisely or well : should they ever, when children, lose their husbands, there is for them but a dreary life of unbroken widowhood, hardly ever relieved by sympathy and tenderness. Nor can we forget that for centuries, women in every part of India were allowed to burn themselves on their husbands’ funeral pyres, and were taught that this was the holiest action they could perform ; and that over the greater part of this vast peninsula, female life was so little valued that infanticide was not a crime, and, indeed, was often deemed a meritorious act. The first has ceased, the latter is happily passing away ; but it must be remembered that no shaster, and scarce a Hindu sect, or even a solitary individual, ever recorded a protest or uttered an expostulation against these enormous wrongs. These constitute the gravamen of the charge we bring against the system of Hindu female society,—that it is viciously constituted and based on falsehood ; a mighty wrong and injury being



wrought by one half the community on the other half, afflicting and degrading alike those who work and those who endure it

In the ancient, the Vedic period, woman was more honoured and free than she is now. 'Hymns in the Rig-veda mention 'her with respect and affection, comparing the goodness of the 'god Agni to that of a 'brother for his sisters,' and the brightness 'of this god to the shining of a woman in her love.'\* Sarah, Rebekah and Rachel, Hagar and Leah, Bilhah and Zilpah, Dinah and Tamar resemble as closely as may be the women of ancient India. And the state of society in which the former lived, exhibiting moral laxity mingled with fierce jealousy; freedom and restraint; an assumption of authority on the part of men, and its frequent evasion by the cunning management of women; a courteous deference to them, combined with a suspiciousness alike of their rights and of their integrity and constancy, gives us perhaps the best portraiture we can now have, of the relative position of men and women in this land three thousand years ago. In the ages immediately succeeding they were held in similar esteem. They listened to Brahmanical discourses, and occasionally took part in moral and philosophical discussions. They were seen at public festivals. Yet that which pleases us most are the indications scattered here and there, of the mingled honour and affection with which they were regarded. We lay little stress on the fact that the greatest of Indian poems, turns on the capture and deliverance of a woman; but it is worthy of notice that the beautiful Sita is ever spoken of, especially by her husband, in terms which plainly tell how highly gentleness, fortitude, fidelity and woman's love were regarded by strong, brave men in those primitive ages. The troubled story of king Nala and his wandering, faithful wife Damayanti in the Mahabharat, illustrates the same truth, and shews that women had a larger liberty than now: for besides being permitted to roam about at will, Damayanti actually chose her own husband. The beautiful story of Savitri, told also in the Mahabharat, gives a picture of womanly fidelity and tenderness which is very touching; and, to refer to a later period, the 'Meg Dutha' breathes sentiments of pure affection and loving honour towards an absent wife, which are not always, we fear, wafted to absent spouses by their loving lords, in these days of enforced and necessary separation.

Coming down to the time of Menu, we find a very marked deterioration in the position of the sex; and since his code has given the key-note to all subsequent opinion and usage, we shall

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\* Mrs. Spier's "Life in Ancient India" p. 166.

quote some passages from him, premising however, that the code is evidently founded, to a large degree, on pre-existing usages and opinions, and that therefore there must have been causes at work, tending towards an unfavourable change in the lot of women some generations before the advent of the great codifier, though it is not to be denied that he rivetted, with evident satisfaction, the last links of their galling chain. The causes leading to this ill-fated depreciation cannot now be ascertained; probably like many other social problems in oriental history, they are far even beyond our reach; though it would not be difficult speculatively, to define the steps by which the sex descended from their tower of pride, to their seat in the dust.

‘By a girl, or by a young woman, or by a woman advanced in years, nothing must be done, even in her own dwelling place, according to her mere pleasure.’\*

‘In childhood must a female be dependent on her father; in youth on her husband; her lord being dead on her sons:—a woman must never seek independence.’†

‘Though unobservant of approved usages, or enamoured of another woman, or devoid of good qualities, yet a husband must constantly be revered as a god by a virtuous wife.’‡

‘No sacrifice is allowed to women apart from their husbands, no religious rite, no fasting: as far only as a wife honours her lord, so far she is exalted in heaven.’§

‘Let her emaciate her body by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots and fruit: but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man.’||

‘A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a younger whole brother, may be corrected when they commit faults, with a rope or a small shoot of a cane.’¶

‘For women, children, persons of crazy intellect, the old, the poor, and the infirm, the king shall order punishment with a small whip, a twig or a rope.’\*\*

‘It is the nature of women in this world to cause the seduction of men; for which reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females.’

‘A female indeed is able to draw from the right path in this life not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath.’

\* Menu's "Institutes of Hindu Law," chap. V, p. 147.

† Ibid, 148.

‡ Ibid, 154.

§ Ibid, 155.

|| Ibid, 157.

¶ Ibid, chap. VIII, 299.

\*\* Ibid, chap. IX. 230.

‘Let no man, therefore, sit in a sequestered place with his ‘nearest female relations.’\*

‘A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth ‘year : she, whose children are all dead, in the tenth : she, who ‘brings forth only daughters, in the eleventh : she, who speaks ‘unkindly, without delay.’†

‘Women have no business with the text of the Veda ; thus ‘is the law fully settled : having therefore no evidence of law, and ‘no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be foul as ‘falsehood itself ; and this is a fixed rule.’‡

Women are ranked with the inferior castes. Obedience to her husband is the grand duty of a wife, which, if faithfully performed, stands as a substitute for all other duties, be they civil or sacred. If a wife neglects her husband because he drinks or gambles, she must be punished ; but if ‘she drinks, or shews hatred to ‘her lord or is mischievous, or wastes his property, she may at all ‘times be superseded by another wife.’§ It is a husband who exalts a wife to happiness in the next world. ‘A widow who slights ‘her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on her- ‘self here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord.’

These passages are not only valuable as exhibiting an ancient form of opinion, they may be taken as a tolerably correct mirror of the current state of feeling in our own day, and thus we arrive at the melancholy conclusion, that for 2500 years, one half the population of this densely inhabited and enormous peninsula, have been thus thought of and thus treated by the other half. That opinion on this subject has not materially altered will be made clear in future pages, although it is obvious from the fact, that the code of the ancient lawgiver is still recognised as sacred and authoritative throughout purely native society. But let us now give a proof of the unhappy harmony subsisting between ancient opinion and modern, by citations from the Gentoo code, which, though chiefly compiled from Menu, was itself issued eighty years ago, as an authoritative exposition of Hindoo law ; and by citing a few proverbs and popular sayings, which in all countries embody so largely the popular state of thought and feeling.—

‘A man, both day and night, must keep his wife so much in ‘subjection, that she by no means be mistress of her own actions : ‘if the wife have her own free will, notwithstanding she be ‘sprung from a superior caste, she will yet behave amiss.’||

\* Ibid, II. 213, 214, 215.

† Ibid, IX. 81.

‡ Ibid, IX. 18.

§ Ibid, IX. 78, 80.

|| A Code of Gentoo Law, Chap. xx, p. 249.



‘A woman shall never go out of the house without the consent of her husband, \* \* \* \* and shall never hold discourse with a strange man; but may converse with a suniassi, a hermit, or an old man, \* \* \* \* and shall not stand at the door and must never look out of a window.’\*

‘Women have six qualities; the first an inordinate desire for jewels and fine furniture, handsome clothes and nice victuals; \* \* \* \* \*; the third, violent anger; the fourth deep resentment; (i.e) no person knows the sentiments concealed in their heart; the fifth, another person’s good appears evil in their eyes; the sixth, they commit bad actions.’†

‘In creatures with nails, in rivers, in horned animals, in those with weapons in their hands, confidence must not be placed; nor in women, nor in kings’ favourites.’‡ ‘One may trust deadly poison, a river, a hurricane, the beautiful, large, fierce elephant, the tiger come from prey, the angels of death, a thief, a savage, a murderer; but if one trust a woman, without doubt he must wander about the streets a beggar.’§

The most offensive and depreciatory of these sentiments we have suppressed. Many proverbs appear to be the masculine, popular embodiment of these calumnious and unjust laws. For instance.—

‘Blind sons support their parents, but a prince’s daughter extorts money from them.’ That is, a son, however helpless, will care for his parents, but a daughter, however rich, will try to get all she can from hers.

‘Unless a daughter dies she cannot be praised for her virtue.’—Women are so fickle and frail that you are never sure what their lives will turn out to be.

‘Those who attend to the words of a woman are possessed with devils.’—Plain enough!

‘Females produce young ones.’—They are given to exaggeration, and produce wonderful stories out of very meagre facts.

‘We cannot understand the character of women; even the gods cannot.’

‘Women are unsteady as the birds that float in the air.’

The sentiments prevalent throughout Southern India are equally insulting, offensive and degrading. A Tamil proverb says, ‘even were a woman well read and behaved, taking her counsel would lead to the eating of refuse.’

\* Ibid, p. 252.

† Ibid, 250.

‡ Nithi—Sinthamani.

§ Ibid.

A popular stanza in Tamil literature hits off the mutual weaknesses of both sexes; it was written by Ouvvray the renowned female sage.

All women were good if left alone,  
They are spoiled by those who rule them;  
And by men might a little sense be shewn,  
But the women so befool them.

The same traitorous and clever woman has said, 'Ignorance is an ornament to women.'

It is but candid to admit, that though this be the prevalent language alike of lawgivers, shastras and moralists, other sentiments of a much more kindly nature are now and then to be met with. Thus one Puranic authority says—'Women are the 'friends of the solitary; they solace him with their sweet converse; like to a father in the discharge of duty, consoling as a 'mother in affliction.' Even the Institutes of the ancient lawgiver contain the following admirable sentiments.—'Married women 'must be honoured and adorned by their fathers and brethren, by 'their husbands, and by the brethren of their husbands, if they 'seek abundant prosperity; where females are honoured, there the 'deities are pleased; but if they are dishonoured there all religious 'acts become fruitless. Where female relatives are made miserable, the family of him who makes them so, very soon wholly 'perishes. On whatever houses the women of a family, not being 'duly honoured pronounce an imprecation that house with all that 'belongs to it, will utterly perish.\* We may remark, by the way, that we are quite sure this unusually gallant and benevolent utterance, came neither from the brain nor the heart of the great codifier himself. It is evidently one of those thoughts he picked up, as Elphinstone says, in writings ancient even in his day, for he was a compiler rather than an original lawmaker and thinker, and in a moment of weakness inserted in his compilation. Had 'new and improved editions' been as common in Menu's days as in our own, we feel quite sure this would have been struck out, as a very weak and foolish passage, by the dry, hard, women-contemning sage.

Let us now endeavour to pourtray the present state of female society. It will be seen, that with slight modifications, it is a transcript of that which the old Lawgiver wished to see.

That the birth of a son is greatly preferred to that of a daughter no Hindu will deny; though apologists are not wanting who affirm, that this arises from adventitious causes, and that if Hindus

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\* The Codes of Menu c. III. 55, 56, 57, 58.

have this bias so have Europeans. Admitting that this is the case, it may with truth be affirmed that on the part of western parents it is slight, whilst on that of Hindus it is strong and even intense. If they pray for offspring it is for sons not daughters. There is a definite value attached to the former; they are at once an honour, a necessity and an advantage; the latter, on the other hand, are regarded as a reproach, an encumbrance and a source of trouble. The wife who only bears daughters is despised, and may be displaced by another. The congratulations which are freely offered on the birth of a son are withheld on the birth of a daughter, if indeed expressions of condolence are not offered to the unfortunate father. The Tamil parent strikes the roof of his hut three times, in token of gladness when a son is born. The Bengali Kulin sees in a daughter a bitter well-spring of anxiety, expense, and possible humiliation, for she must probably marry a man who has many wives, most of whom he but seldom sees; she must live a burden on her father's house, and be exposed to more than ordinary trials and temptations through the absence of him who ought at once to be her 'bread winner' and her protector. Still greater are the regrets among Rajputs when a daughter is born. For her to live unmarried would be both disgraceful and impious; to marry one of the same clan, whom we should call an equal, is degrading if not incestuous; to find a suitable husband is difficult indeed, and requires a sum of money usually beyond the parent's means; in this dilemma, instead of breaking through a hateful custom, they have been wont to destroy the greater part of their female offspring. Parents who can deliberately perpetrate such an atrocity, are glad when the birth of a son saves them from its commission; but there is guilty and mournful significance in the reply of the Rajput, who, when asked if a girl or boy has been born in his family, replies, 'nothing.'

But exceptional customs apart, the Hindus universally prefer male offspring, for some reasons which we can appreciate, and for others which arise only from an ill constituted form of society. Morally and intellectually woman is deemed inferior to man. This idea underlies the whole framework of society. But a son is a necessity to a Hindu family. He alone, and not a daughter, can perform the Shraddha, which quenches the hunger of departed ancestors, and guards them against unnumbered ills. Dismal indeed is that house which has not a son thus to enrich it. A daughter on the other hand is not only not a necessity, she is an encumbrance and a source of anxiety. She is ever dependent and seldom trusted. If we



may employ such a phrase, she is of no use to her family. Marry she must whilst yet a child, and it is no easy task sometimes to find a suitable partner for her; when found, to unite them is a terribly expensive business, and when that is done she becomes an essential part of her husband's family. 'The duty of daughters 'is, from the day of their marriage, transferred entirely to their 'husbands and their husbands' parents, on whom alone devolves 'the duty of protecting and supporting them through the wedded 'and the widowed state. The links that united them to their 'parents are broken, All the reciprocity of rights and duties 'which have bound together the parent and child from infancy, 'is considered to end with the consummation of her marriage; nor 'does the stain of any subsequent *backsliding* ever affect the family 'of her parents—it can affect that only of her husband, which is 'held alone responsible for her conduct.\* Even should her husband die she seldom returns to her father's house, save as an occasional visitor. May we not conclude then from all this, that the rejoicing or sadness attendant on the birth of children is largely owing, in the best families at least, in some measure to a conviction of the superiority of men to women, but still more to a painful consciousness, that the iron customs of the country have created a great, an unjust, and an unhappy disparity in the fortunes of the sexes!

But the preference given to male children, is seen not only in the actual joy that breaks forth because a mother does *not* give birth to a daughter, but in two, at least, of the customs which follow on parturition. The one relates to the mother, the other to the child. Hindu ceremonial law declares that a deeper stain of impurity attaches to the birth of a girl than of a boy:— 'A mother having brought forth a boy, may be allowed to do 'her accustomed work, having bathed after twenty nights; but 'after a month, when she is delivered of a girl,' says one of the shastras. A superstition not without its grave and suggestive associations, is connected with the sixth night of a child's existence. It is supposed that Vidhata, the Supreme, in the form of destiny, then comes and writes in unseen, but ineradicable characters the fate which has been preordained for the child. And then it is that the goddess Shashthi, the supposed guardian of infants, is worshipped. Offerings are made to her; adorations are presented to make her propitious to the child, and the following prayer is addressed to her—'Come, O

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\* "Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official" By Colonel Sleeman. Vol I. p. 330.

‘thou blessing-dispensing goddess; celebrated by the name of ‘the great Shashthi, and by thy divine energy protect my son ‘in the watch room. As Scanda the son of Gouri, was ever ‘guarded by thee, so may this my son likewise be preserved. ‘Reverence to thee, O Shashthi!’ Now all this worship and invocation, as well as the festivities accompanying it, are usually omitted with female offspring.

The childhood of a Hindu girl differs little from the ordinary phases of juvenility elsewhere, save in two particulars;—it is made far too short by early marriage, and even its infantile associations are injured and disfigured by a premature acquaintance with the contingencies of connubial life. She has her dolls, her games, and her pretty ways but unfortunately she is not left entirely, nor long enough to these. Though mental training is denied her, she is early taught that she must be married, and all the unhappy possibilities of that state are intruded on her innocent and simple nature. From her earliest years she hears about her marriage;—the display with which it will be celebrated;—the kind of husband it is likely she will obtain;—the presents he may give her;—the pleasures and pains of married life;—the likelihood of her becoming a widow, and the possibilities of her being superseded in her husband’s affections by another. Even her religious emotions are guided very much in this direction. Besides the ceremonies and rites sanctioned by the shastras, there have sprung up a number of others which can lay claim to no authority, but which are largely sanctioned by custom; and the vows and prayers of young girls form no small part of these. Two or three of these may be mentioned. The Shajoti, is a ceremony performed by female children of all classes, under the careful superintendence of the female head of the family, for the purpose of obtaining a good husband, who shall never take a second wife, and give to her who prays plenty of ornaments. The Yampookur consists chiefly of worship given to the Hindu Pluto, to render him propitious, so that she who worships him may never be deprived of her husband, and subjected to all the sorrow and shame of widowhood.

The play of childhood is soon interrupted by the mingled gravities and follies of marriage. Like everything else relating to the framework of native society, the proper age for its celebration is fixed by the shastras, and confirmed by immemorial custom. ‘The marriage of a girl (whatever her caste) is to be ‘celebrated after she is seven years old, otherwise it becomes ‘contrary to the dictates of religion. At the age of eight, she

'becomes a *Gouri*, at the age of nine she becomes a *Rohini*,\* and 'at the age of ten a mere virgin. Her youth commences if 'she is older. Therefore the wise are to dispose of her before the 'close of her tenth year, even if the time were otherwise inauspicious or improper.† Menu says.—'To an excellent and 'handsome youth of the same class, let every man give his 'daughter in marriage according to law; even though she have 'not attained her age of eight years.‡ So important does the old lawgiver consider this matter, that he counsels nothing short of female rebellion and independence as the ultimatum, if the father of a girl neglect to provide her with a partner.—'Three 'years (beyond the eighth) let a damsel wait, though she be 'marriageable; but after that term, let her choose for herself 'a bridegroom of equal rank. If not being given in marriage 'she choose her bridegroom, neither she, nor the youth chosen 'commits any offence.'

That every girl must be married, is a law in the Hindu code of fashion, which has its ludicrous aspects; but the gravity of the evils it produces forbids that we should make ourselves merry over them. It leaves neither liberty to the parent nor child. It forbids all preference and choice. It forces an union often, where its only consequences must be disgust, disappointment or sorrow. It destroys the sanctity and dignity of marriage, by directing the minds of children to a union which should never be regarded as universally incumbent, and by turning the parent into a mere negotiator whose great and sole aim is to get his child married off his hands, even whilst she is a child.§ But the early age of marriage

\* *Gouri* and *Rohini* are the names of two of the twenty seven stars in the Hindoo Calendar. The former represents the wife of Shiva, the latter of Chondro. *Gouri* is therefore superior to *Rohini*, and he who gives his daughter in marriage at the earlier period, confers a gift superior to him who keeps his daughter unmarried until the age of nine. The Hindoo idea really is, when translated into ordinary phraseology, that a girl must be married before the age of puberty, and the sooner after the age of seven the better, and the more meritorious. If she be not married before this period great disgrace ensues, and abhorrent sin is supposed to follow.

† Rev. K. M. Banerjea's Prize Essay on native Female Education. p. 24.

‡ The Code. Chap. IX. 88.

§ Hence has arisen the recognized profession of the *Ghataks*, formerly monopolised by men, but now we understand largely engaged in by women, who on account of their superior information respecting the charms and qualifications of girls, which they can ascertain by having access to zenanas, are likely to monopolise the business in turn, and drive their masculine rivals out of the field. The *Ghatak* is employed in looking out for a suitable partner for any girl who is approaching the prescribed age for marriage. The preliminary arrangements which bring the parents into negotiation are usually transacted through this singular official.



is an evil tenfold greater than is even the enforcement of marriage. A girl must either be united to a mere boy, or be bound to a man much older than herself. In both cases the contracting parties are mutually ignorant of each other, and probably have never spent a moment in each other's society. It is obvious that such a procedure enormously increases the probabilities, that marriage will not conduct to satisfactory issues. It is true, that parents will usually be animated by a strong desire to form such alliances for their children, as bid fair to lead to happy results; that their prudence and foresight are more likely to secure *equal social* alliances, than are the passionate impulses and extravagant imaginings of inexperienced youth; that if love does not exist before marriage, it may follow after it, where parents have been judicious in the selection. Yet to all this the reply is conclusive and final—marriage is a contract so intimately affecting the entire natures and the life-long happiness of the two who are united by it, that it ought to be left entirely at the choice of the two whom it binds together. The present system of course, is attended with less evil, than if women were advanced toward the English idea of their rights and privileges; but even now, with their meek and uncomplaining submissiveness, the amount of evil it must necessarily induce is beyond all computation. The alliances, where there is found to exist that subtle and instinctive repugnance of natures, which all keen observers of mankind have marked, but failed to analyze; where there is that which disgusts and offends; where the temper, the tastes and the feelings are antagonistic, and where the transporting and glorious passion of love can never be developed, must be very numerous, and so far as they exist, they must diminish that amount of happiness, whatever it is, of which Hindu married life is susceptible.

But the impediment put in the way of all mental improvement is not the least of the evils arising out of this pernicious custom. For a girl of five or six years of age to be taught that she is to be married before she is ten; for her to be taught hardly any thing but what relates to her nuptials; for her to be introduced to the cares and responsibilities of maternity before she is fifteen; is of itself sufficient to check all mental culture and to impair beyond hope of restoration the moral purity and innocence of woman. This would inevitably be the result, even if, as among us, it were admitted, that the mind should be cultivated, but how much greater must be the injury, where both the wisdom and the right of such cultivation is denied.

The physical effects of such premature unions, both upon mothers and their children, can easily be imagined, and need not here be fully stated. Hindu women are certainly as richly endowed with feminine grace, dignity and beauty, as women anywhere. The liveness of their frames, the natural elegance of their movements when free and unconstrained, the beautiful symmetry of their small hands and feet, the clearness of their complexions, and the great regularity, if not exceedingly delicate chiselling of their features, are feminine treasures of which they will be justly proud when they can compare themselves with the women of other climes. But all these charms are prematurely injured by early marriage. Before the girl has become a full grown woman she is a mother, and by the time most English women marry, she has given birth to two thirds of her children.\* No wonder then that at thirty, when she should be in the summer of her beauty and strength, she gives indications of premature decay, and at forty, has lost all traces of loveliness and of comeliness. Indeed Hindu women enjoy no summer tide of glorious beauty, such as is accorded to their western sisters, who dwell, we will not say in a happier clime, for the climate is not the cause, but in the midst of more genial influences. They, from the age of twenty-five until forty, or forty-five, retain, almost unimpaired and undimmed, the graces with which they are so richly endowed. Here, however, ere feminine maturity is reached, they become associated with influences fatal to their beauty and prime, and they droop and die away, as if youth and old age were alone the destined heritage of women.

It requires no stretch of imagination to picture the kind of mothers such a system produces. Affection is not wanting. Thanks to a beneficent Creator ! who has so constituted humanity that some of its best emotions are indestructible ; for though for a time they may be perverted, they return invariably to their proper channels, like the sun's kindly influence after an eclipse, and the germinant powers of nature after a season of drought, and blight. But there is much more that is wanting and which, alas, is seldom or never found. There is wanting the trained mind to influence the child's mind. There is wanting the disciplined feelings to prevent the mother making of her little one nothing but a toy. There is wanting all, or much of that matronly dignity and power, which at once

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\* "The mean age of mothers at a first birth, calculated from ninety-five instances given, is little more than two years higher than the age of puberty, being fourteen years and eight months." This is in Bengal. In other parts of India the average age is a little greater.

rules, attracts and blesses a family. A Hindu mother of fifteen is no fit guardian of her infant's welfare, nor does she become better qualified to guide its steps as it advances toward maturity, for all means of mental improvement and growth are denied her.

The physical injury inflicted on a people by early marriage must necessarily be great. The immaturity of parents must lead to the weakness of their offspring. This is a law very far reaching in its issues, and worthy of much more attention than it has received. It is illustrated most in Bengal, where it is most violated. The people are the children of children; they are therefore the least muscular of races. They are incapable of much exertion, or fatigue. Their want of stamina predisposes them to disease, and renders them incapable of sustaining its attacks. They have a large number of children, but few of them arrive at maturity, and the average duration of native life is less than twenty years, or only two thirds of what it is in England. To the same cause we are inclined to attribute that intellectual subtlety, combined with a great want of mental robustness, which is one of their most marked psychological characteristics. Much of this, we are aware, is attributed by some to the tropical exuberance of the climate, which, they say, forces both life and death into rapid motion. We deny this. The characteristics we have just pointed out, owe their existence mainly to the fact, that every Bengali woman is married before she is eleven years of age, either to a youth little older than herself, or to a widower who is most likely a great deal older, and to the customs arising out of this violation of natural law.

Before describing married life we wish, because of its redeeming features and beautiful appropriateness, to refer to the closing vows mutually plighted at nuptials. We need hardly say, that the ceremonies on such occasions are very numerous, very trivial and unmeaning, and sometimes not very decent. The following rites, however, breath sentiments which we vainly hope are carried not seldom into actual life. After various trivial ceremonies the bride's Pandit addresses the bridegroom in language such as follows, 'The bride says to you.—If you live happy, keep me 'happy also; if you be in trouble, I will be in trouble too; you 'must support me, and must not leave me when I suffer; you must 'always keep with me and pardon all my faults; and your poojás 'pilgrimages, fastings, incense, and all other religious duties, you 'must not perform without me; you must not defraud me regarding conjugal love; you must have nothing to do with another 'woman while I live; you must consult me in all that you do, and



'you must always tell me the truth. Vishnu, fire, and the Brahmins are witnesses between you and me.' To this the bridegroom replies. 'I will all my life time do just as the bride requires of me: but she also must make me some promises. She must go with me through suffering and trouble, and must always be obedient to me; she must never go to her father's house, unless she is asked by him; and when she sees another man in better circumstances or more beautiful than I am, she must not despise or slight me.' To this the girl answers "I will all my life do just as you require of me? Vishnu, fire, Brahmins, and all present are witnesses between us.' After this the bridegroom takes some water in his hand, the Pandit repeats something, and the former sprinkles it on the bride's head. Then the bride and the bridegroom both bow before the Sun in worship. After this the bridegroom carries his hand over the right shoulder of the bride and touches her heart, and then puts some *bundun* (a coloured powder) on her *maug* or the line on her head, and puts his shoes on her feet, but immediately takes them off again.\*

A Hindu woman's cares and humiliations begin with marriage, and therefore they begin early. The first indication of her altered condition is in the limitation of her personal liberty. It seems to be regarded not only as the prudent course, but the most fashionable one, to inhibit all promiscuous intercourse between women and men, and to reduce it even in families to the smallest possible limits. Of course, the poor cannot shut up their women; but it is astonishing to observe how soon he who gets rich or respectable, however low his caste, begins to hide his female relations from public view. A high fence around his compound, and an inner apartment exclusively for the use of women, immediately proclaim his rising fortunes. As the southern breeze and free ventilation are essential in a European residence, so seclusion is the great thing to be secured in a native one. Away from the street or the road, all respectable women must live in dingy, prison-like apartments with the smallest possible number of doors and windows, which through their narrow bars admit no sight-seeing but such as is afforded by the firmament, or the dreary monotony of a stagnant tank, or an ill cultivated garden. A stray female may occasionally penetrate into the zenana; men never, excepting—to use an Irishism—they be the small boys of the family. It is even thought improper for a husband to have any social intercourse with his wife during

\* Domestic manners and customs of the Hindoos." by Baboo Isuree Dass.

the day. Thus deprived of personal liberty ; hardly ever having conversation with strangers of her own sex, and never with men ; circumscribed not only in her ability to move from place to place but even in her power of vision ; hardly ever quitting her own dwelling, and when she does, travelling in a covered conveyance through the chinks of which alone she can peer ; she leads a life which is dull, monotonous and uninteresting in the extreme. This jealous seclusion of the sex is often traced up to the influence and example of the Mahomedans. Previous to their advent, it is said, women were comparatively free, but such was the license of their conduct and the evils it induced, that the people in their jealousy and terror found no safety but in adopting the exclusive custom of their conquerors. There may be some truth in this, but not much. Women were kept in seclusion for centuries even before the rise of Moslemism, and if occasionally they had liberty, such cases were quite exceptional.\* Indeed the practice seems necessarily to follow from the low and jealous ideas entertained of the sex in the earliest ages, and propounded in a variety of forms in the Code of the great Lawgiver.

To dwell in such circumscribed limits, would, under the most favourable circumstances prove irksome, and prejudicial alike to the frame, the mind and the heart. If the inmates of the zenana were highly educated, if they were endowed with all those accomplishments which so pleasantly occupy and gracefully adorn their Western sisters, life would even then be without elasticity, and the feelings would droop as if they had no vigour and no spring, if they were thus secluded from the outer world. How much more must this be the case where the mind is left, totally uneducated, destitute of even the power to read, and where society is unsoftened by the benignant, pure and ennobling influences of Christianity.

That women in India are not taught to read, that the art should be forbidden them both by religion and by custom, that they should be deemed unworthy of such an acquisition by a people who boast of their learning and civilization, is at once the condemnation of Hinduism, and the opprobrium of its adherents. Says the code 'women have no business with the text of the Vedas ; thus is the law fully settled : having therefore no evidence of law, and no knowledge of expiatory texts, sinful women must be 'foul as falsehood itself ; and this is a fixed rule.'† Another

\* Luksman thus expresses his astonishment on finding a woman, walking in a desert wild. 'What ! art thou wandering fearless, whose form is that of one who should not see even the sun ?' Bhatti.

† Menu's code, Chap. XI 18.

authority says—‘the Vedas are not even to be heard either by ‘the servile class, women, or degraded Brahmins.’\* These injunctions reach much farther than at first sight appears. In commenting on the latter passage, the Rev. K. M. Banerjea says, ‘And as pronunciation, grammar, versification, arithmetic, mixed ‘mathematics, were included in the number of the Vedangas, or ‘members of the Vedas, an almost impassable barrier may be said to ‘have been opposed to the education of the Shudras and the women.’ Even should it be denied that the common elements of knowledge are forbidden by the Shastras to them—a point we think settled, but which we do not care to dispute—it cannot be questioned that usage is opposed to their education. The prejudice against women being taught to read and write has been up to our own age deep and universal. They are considered dangerous accomplishments. It is supposed that they will destroy modesty, induce pride, encourage intrigue, and bring down calamity on her who is thus fatally gifted, as well as upon the husband who is infatuated enough to marry her who is thus dangerously gifted, or to allow her, when his wife, to acquire these dubious qualifications and for these and other reasons it is that women, with but rare exceptions, are left in total ignorance.

Another unhappy element in their lot is the very subordinate position all women, excepting the Guinee, or head of the family, occupy. The latter is usually the mother-in-law, or, in case of her death, the eldest brother’s wife; and in a respectable family the number of subordinate females is considerable. These personages all the world over, are suspected of having a prejudice against a son’s wife, and their own training in India is certainly not fitted to make them better than mothers elsewhere; hence the sayings of southern India—“If the mother-in-law break the pan, it is earthen; if the daughter-in-law break it, it is a golden vessel.” “Tears come into the eyes of a daughter-in-law six months after the death of the mother-in-law.” Even if the yoke of the lady-superior be easy, there are other domestic contingencies which threaten the happiness of the dweller in the Zenana. The partialities of the Guinee for some one of her own widowed daughters, perchance returned by her unhappy loss to the paternal abode, or for one of her own daughters-in-law, or for some of the grand-children; the greater affection exhibited by one husband than by another; the richer clothes and more precious ornaments obtained from a husband by one wife. These and a variety of other causes disturb greatly the peace of families, and keep

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\* Sree Bhagabhat.



the female apartments in a state of chronic warfare. Nor does the influence of a husband mitigate those evils to any appreciable extent. He probably, with his favourite lawgiver, attributes the evils of the Zenana, not to the tyranny and selfish folly of his own sex, but to women's "mutable temper, their want of settled affection, and their perverse nature;" "their love of their bed, of their seat, and of ornaments, impure appetites, wrath, weak flexibility, desire of mischief and bad conduct," and therefore he thinks it hopeless to reason with such beings, and makes up his mind that the evil cannot be helped, only that he will repress it with a strong hand when it troubles his own repose. And these evils are intensified because there is no escape from them, not even a temporary one. How much strife and ill feeling are avoided in an English home by our freer usages. Many a domestic storm blows over, because a woman when she sees it gathering, puts on her bonnet and takes an agreeable walk, or makes a call or two, which wonderfully restores her own good nature, and gives time to the antagonistic element at home also to cool down. Or there is an easy and efficacious retreat in some genial book; or in the thousand occupations which fill an Englishwoman's hands and thoughts. Even should the home pressure become intolerable, there are a multitude of honourable expedients which are within reach of most women either of education or of energy. The Hindu woman has literally no antidote and no means of escape. She must bear the full force of whatever adverse circumstances fall to her lot, and the only way of escape is through the dreary gate of death.

In what way a respectable woman spends her time, is a question involved in some mystery, from the fact that she appears to have nothing to do. Of course the poor have plenty of occupation. They labour quite as hard as the same class in England. But the richer classes have apparently nothing to engage their hands or their thoughts. They have no furniture to clean, no clothes to make or mend; no "fancy work" to interest them, no letters to answer, and no novel "to finish." We know that they spend much time in devotion; more, considerably, than she who worships a purer divinity and holds a truer faith; we are told—and shall we not believe it, for they are women?—that they attend elaborately to the toilet; we believe that they give long audience to the menials who bring the gossip of the neighbourhood, and that games of skill and of chance, like cards, dice and chess, are much played.

It is obvious, however, from what we have described, that the ordinary life of a Hindu woman is a very unenviable one. Her

sources of happiness are very few, and they are all of an inferior nature. The causes of her humiliation are very numerous. She is doomed to inactivity. She is most trusted if she be ignorant. From childhood she is taught that she is too weak and wicked to be confided in, or consulted; that she is not fit to be the equal, but only the servant and plaything of man; that it is presumptuous, if not wicked, for her to desire to aspire to know, and to do. Thus do they live and die, with all the rich and beautiful dowry with which they have been gifted by God, undeveloped and repressed; like lovely flowers in the depths of a forest, unseen by any eyes but such as cannot comprehend their beauty; or like precious herbs instinct with healing virtues, which are not dreamt of by the rude races in whose lands they flourish.

Of the precise amount of influence possessed by women in families, it is difficult to speak positively. In social matters they are left, to a great extent, to do as they please. Their wishes respecting religious observances are much deferred to; and in the distribution of property they usually have rights which cannot be ignored. A clever, scheming, active woman, will of course get power, and often wield it over her own husband; nor are the cases unfrequent in which a man becomes the unconscious and willing servant of a wife, who has fascinated him with her beauty or her superior mental endowments. The following extracts contain much truth, although the writer is certainly disposed to rate the position of women too highly in the social scale.—

‘The laws of the Hindoos, instead of being degrading to women ‘as it respects the rights of property, may be regarded as more ‘indulgent than those of most nations. Hence in almost every ‘transaction, respecting family property, the women have great ‘influence, and show considerable tact and aptitude for business, ‘and are not very easily outwitted by the cunning tricks about ‘title deeds &c., in which the Indian lawyers are often better ‘versed, than in the simpler rules of common honesty. As the ‘women have legal rights to certain parts of all real family ‘property, very few bargains can be made about it, without ‘their consent. The same may be said with respect to all marriage transactions, affecting not merely their own children, but ‘also their grand-children; and a man applying for the hand of ‘a damsel, either for himself, or his son, makes perfectly sure ‘that all is right, if he has once got the consent of the grand- ‘mother. As far as the elderly women, in general, are concerned ‘it may be safely stated, that scarcely any important step, affecting the family interests, can be taken, either by their sons, ‘or husbands, without their consent.’

‘That there is a great want of gallantry and of external attention to females in India, especially in Bengal, (where the men being, even for India, proverbially destitute of manliness, are notorious for their harsh treatment of women) there can be no doubt ; but that Indian women, generally, are so entirely deprived of all social influence, and even common respect, as some writers, whose observation has been confined chiefly to Bengal, have represented, is entirely contrary to all my experience, in those parts of India where I have resided. They do not indeed appear so much on the open stage of life, as their more privileged, and better instructed sisters in Europe, but their influence behind the scenes, is not less powerful, as every one who has much to do with native society, soon becomes aware. Indeed, very seldom can a man complete any engagement, or important business transaction, unless he is a very common business man, without first having settled the affair with his privy council, in the female apartments of his house. In India, as in Europe, a man either respects his wife’s judgment sufficiently to make him wish to have her advice, or he stands in such awe of her resentment, as to make him very reluctant to proceed in any cause opposed to her will. The share which women have in family property, would of course, render many transactions entirely void, if not carried on with their consent, and in almost all family affairs, whether secular or religious, their influence is very great. That of the elderly women, if they happen to be possessed of considerable sagacity, is not unfrequently even greater than that of the men, but the younger women being usually treated very much as children, even after they are married, and have young children of their own, have not nearly so much influence as women of the same age in Europe, being almost entirely under the authority of their mothers-in-law, who claim, and exercise over them, and their children, the same authority as over their own unmarried daughters. Marriage merely transfers authority, over a very young woman, from her own parents, to her parents-in-law, to whom her husband also, is still, to a large extent, subject. Nearly all the power, of which the family system in India deprives the younger women, is transferred, not, as is sometimes supposed, to the men, whether fathers, brothers, or husbands, but to the elder female members of their families, on either side. Unless where polygamy is practised, which is only the case among a few of the wealthier classes, the custom of women of respectability being excluded, or of excluding themselves, from public society, instead of diminishing female influence, greatly increases it, by concentrating the active and



‘untiring energies of woman, more directly, and constantly, on domestic and family affairs. The sphere of female activity being much contracted, it naturally acts with more intensity. If it is circumscribed to comparatively fewer objects, these few are pursued with the greater avidity; and, consequently, the energies that, in European female society, find scope abroad, are, in Indian life, entirely spent at home.’\*

But they are exposed to certain contingencies which go far to destroy even in anticipation, the small modicum of happiness spared to them. These are the marriage of a second wife by their husbands; and the dread of being left to all the humiliations of perpetual widowhood. British humanity and beneficence have freed them from other two causes of overwhelming sorrow,—the possible loss of their female offspring through infanticide, and immolation with their deceased husbands.

Divorce and polygamy are both allowed by Hindu law, though neither of them are as much practised as is generally supposed. And the Hindu who can afford it, always prefers taking a second wife to divorcing the first one. Thus she is disgraced, and, it may be, practically put aside, without being legally divorced. There is a reason for this:—Hinduism presumes that a wife can never be free from her husband, even if he die. This notion is embodied in the popular saying,—“He whose widow is not dead has half his body in the land of the living,” and gave rise both to the suttee rite and the prohibition of marriage to widows. We cannot attribute this idea to any other source than excessive jealousy, a jealousy which abuses despotic power up to the utmost limits of human existence. It follows that wives are disgraced, superseded by others, and practically put away, but they still continue in the power of their husbands, and are not, strictly speaking, divorced, unless under very special circumstances. Menu, thus defines the law:—‘Even though a man have married a young woman in legal form, yet he may abandon her, if he find her blemished, afflicted with disease, \* \* \* \* and given to him with fraud. If any man give a faulty damsel in marriage, without disclosing her blemish, the husband may annul that act of her ill-minded giver.’ ‘A wife, who drinks any spirituous liquors, who acts immorally, who shows hatred to her lord, who is incurably diseased, who is mischievous, who wastes his property, may at all times be superseded by another wife. A barren wife may be superseded by another in the eighth year: she, whose children are all dead in the tenth; she, who brings forth

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\* Recollections of Northern India. By the Rev. W. Buyers, p. 399-400,

‘only daughters in the eleventh ; she who speaks unkindly without delay ; but she, who, though afflicted with illness, is beloved and virtuous, must never be disgraced, though she may be superseded by another wife with her own consent. If a wife, legally superseded, shall depart in wrath from the house, she must either instantly be confined, or abandoned in the presence of the whole family.’\*

It will be seen that loop-holes are not wanting for such as desire to use them ; but for various reasons they are not much used. There is among men in this country, a strong feeling of the sanctity and indissolubility of the nuptial bond, though a lamentable laxity with regard to its obligations ; they are kept therefore from indulging largely in the practice of divorce. Then if a wife is troublesome, passionate, or refractory, he has the means at hand of keeping her at a distance from him, and leaving her to herself. In this he certainly has an advantage over Englishmen. They cannot imprison refractory spouses in a corner of the house, for custom brings husband and wife into constant intercourse, and few are the really unworthy wives who are discreet enough, in times of strife, to allow the opportunity to pass of “speaking their minds.” The Hindu, on the other hand, is master of the situation. He need not approach his wife. He can quietly keep out of her way. Thus by avoiding her he enjoys an amount of domestic quiet for which he may well be envied by many an unhappy Englishman, whose wife is “a free-born Briton” as well as himself, and knows well how to abuse her freedom.

Laxity of morals must be adduced as another cause why Hindus do not more frequently supersede or divorce their wives. It is the opprobrium of Hinduism that it does not stigmatise impurity as a sin, or, since the word sin has a totally different meaning as explained by a Christian and a Brahmin, let us say, as an immorality. He who cares not for his wife, forsakes her for others, without compunction and almost without shame. This is an evil as culpable as it is wide spread, as pernicious as it is hateful.

But second marriages are occasionally contracted, chiefly when the first wife has not given birth to a son, or when her son is dead ; for, to have a son who shall perform his father’s funeral obsequies and thus secure peace to him and his ancestors, is the one necessity of a parent. Such unions are happily not common, and, from all we can glean, we conclude that not more than one

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\* The Code chap ix 72, 73, 80, 83.

married man in fifty has a second wife.\* Yet the dread of such an addition being made to the establishment of her lord, seems to be the great fear of every woman, and regarded either as such a disgrace or such a calamity, that the little child is taught to pray that her husband may be satisfied with her, and never desire to take a second wife. The reasons for her repugnance are very obvious and very justifiable, but it is not necessary for us to give them.

Among the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal, it is well known that polygamy is the rule; though it is a happy sign of the growth of a healthier public opinion, that the custom is now looked on by a large portion of the community as both demoralizing and unjust. Mr. Robinson, in the following passage delineates the main features of the custom.

‘When a daughter of any family is married to a Kulin Brahman, the honour of that family is increased, and there are too many parents willing to pay any price to become so illustriously allied. Except from the Shrotrigas, a favoured Brahman caste, Kulins may not legally receive wives from any families inferior to themselves. But the love of money on the one side, and the lust of rank on the other, find it not impossible to agree upon terms. With virtuous exceptions, Kulins study to make the most of the estimation in which their order is held. Before condescending to accept a wife, they will handle a sufficient fee; and they determine the price at which they will sell their favours, by the extent of the demand for husbands of their value, and by the amount of risk the bridegroom will incur, in the proposed alliance, of depriving his posterity of honours so advantageous to himself. In other respects proudly indolent, many Kulins get more than their living by going about the country, assisted by Ghataks or professional Brahman negotiators, to show compassion to the daughters of the respectable and ambitious. It is not uncommon for one Kulin to count twenty wives of his own; and a case occurred in which a lucky individual was known to be blessed with not fewer than one hundred and eighty. A large establishment for a poor man! Not exactly; for the husband in such a case, does not dream of keeping all his wives under his own roof; most of them remain with their parents or with their paternal relations. Prudently fixing his abode near the richest of the families with which he is matrimonially connected, he visits the others as he finds it worth his while to do so. The wife must pay for every glimpse of her precious master. She

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\* It is far otherwise with the Mahomedans.



'may hardly afford to see him again after the day of marriage; and few and far between, in comparison with what ought to be their number are the visits welcomed by the majority of his ladies. The perplexed offspring of such unions cannot count their step-mothers and half-brothers,—know not, in fact, who they are, or where they live.

'While Kulin men are in such request, the greatest difficulty is found in securing husbands for Kulin females. Not at liberty to marry into inferior grades, and commonly lacking the means necessary to purchase alliances with gentlemen of their own castes, they are out-bid and eclipsed by women, who ought to be well contented with bridegrooms of humbler rank. Frequently, on their attaining a marriageable age, their parents find themselves in extreme perplexity to avoid the condemnation of leaving them destitute of the matrimonial sacrament. In too many cases, compelled to throw themselves on the compassion of some decrepit or even dying Kulin, they are thankful when they can persuade the old man or hopeless invalid to save their family from infamy, by obligingly adding another to his long list of useless wives. And here is one secret of the terrible infanticide prevalent in the country.\*

There will not probably be a single reader of these pages but who will heartily desire that this abominable and demoralising practice were brought to a termination. There are but two ways by which this can be done—by the growth of a public opinion which shall frown it into extinction, or by legislative enactment. That it will finally come to an end by the former means, if not by the latter, is certain; but we are loth to wait for the result of this process, for like all great evils in a land like this, it is very slow in dying; yet, on the other hand, there are enormous difficulties in the way of prohibitive legislation on the matter. Were Kulins alone addicted to polygamy it might more easily be dealt with, but Hindu and Mahomedan alike recognize the practice, and the latter largely adopt it. We think, however, that there is a clearly ascertainable distinction between the custom of the class and the custom of the communities. The latter base their practice on law, the former only on custom. Now we are not bound to recognize the latter where a great and pregnant evil is concerned, and since we believe it would be impossible to cite any Hindu authority of any weight in favour of Kulinism, we see no insurmountable difficulty in the way of its prohibition. Of course it would be at the option of any Kulin

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\* The Daughters of India, p. 75-6.

to marry a second wife on the ground of the sanction of Hindu law, if he could plead it.

But we must pass on to notice the enforced widowhood of every woman who is unfortunate enough to lose her husband, however brief and transient may have been her union with him.\* It was a noble and beneficent act to rescue widows from the possibility of immolation; but we question if it has been ever fully understood to what a fate it preserves them; a fate which, unhappily, legal enactment cannot touch, and which can only be destroyed by the spread of right and benevolent principles, throughout the whole of society. It is indeed easy to understand how many a woman, aware of the hard and terrible destiny which awaited her if she lived, preferred deliberately the short agonies of cremation to such a life of sorrow.

She is deemed the happy woman by her sex, who dies whilst her husband lives. Even the name widow is a reproach, and few curses are so deep as the one—"may you become a widow." Such a lot is not regarded so much in the light of a misfortune, as in that of a curse, inflicted by some angry god for heavy guilt contracted by its victim in this life or in some previous birth. She is therefore condemned rather than pitied, shunned as a loathed and evil thing, rather than sympathized with. Nay, such is the frantic spirit of Hinduism, that he who helps to make her suffer, and who infuses additional sorrow into her cup, supposes that he is furthering the purposes of heaven, and working out meritoriously the designs of inexorable fate.

Immediately on the death of her husband, though she be a child of eight years of age, she is divested of all her ornaments; nor can she keep them as precious *mémorials* of the past; they pass from her possession. If they are of shell or wax they are broken, if of precious material they are sold. Henceforth, no garment of fine, coloured, or embroidered texture must be worn, but only such as are coarse. It is meritorious in her to be slovenly. A married wife delights in the plaiting of her hair, and the anointing of her person with unguents or odours, but the widow must discard all these things. She must not even lie upon a bed. Hindus are studious about their food; the most refined Parisians are not more delicate in the selection of sauces and cordials than are the wealthy here about their curries and sweetmeats. Yet the relict of

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\* In writing thus, we have not forgotten that as the law now stands, a widow may legally marry, but hitherto it has remained almost a dead letter. It is to the disgrace of the "enlightened" classes, that, though there are some millions of widows in India, not forty have been married since the passing of the act in 1856.

the wealthy Brahmin, as well as her poorer sister, must feed upon the coarsest and scantiest fare. She must never have more than one meal a day. Two days in the month she must maintain a strict fast. On these days she must not even moisten her mouth by swallowing her saliva. Water is forbidden her; and if she is thirsty, the Shastras advise, that she present sweetmeats and cocoanut water to a Brahmin, whose eating them will, by a large stretch of the imagination, satisfy her hunger and quench her thirst! She is forbidden to eat either fish, or animal food. The rice she uses must be of the coarsest description. She is not allowed all kinds of sweetmeats; nor must those she takes be bought in the bazaars. With a refinement of cruelty, which is fiendish for its cool inhumanity and contemptible for its punctiliousness, it is enacted, lest starved on one meal a day she should glut her appetite at other hours with sweetmeats, that she must never eat them but at her meals. She must not appear at any scene of festivity or gladness. Even to marriages she is not invited, and if, on account of proximity of relationship she does appear, she is not allowed to take a part in the ceremonies. From all this neither age, decrepitude nor delicacy of frame exempts her. 'Let the widow emaciate her body by living on roots, fruits and flowers, let her not even pronounce the name of another man after her lord is deceased; let her continue till death forgiving injuries, performing harsh duties, avoiding sensual pleasures, and practising virtue.'† 'The widow shall never exceed one meal a day, nor sleep on a bed; if she do so, her husband falls from 'Swarga.'‡

This hopeless, heart-crushing existence is endured literally by millions of women. The number of widows is proportionately much larger than it is in a country like England. It is exceedingly difficult to arrive at perfect accuracy among a people who invariably suspect every attempt to collect statistics; but an intelligent native writer says, 'in many families the widows considerably out-number the married women.' In endeavouring to discover the percentage of widows we received from two credible sources the following figures: which of course can only be received as proximate.

Married women.	Widows.	Unmarried.	
60	25	15	} 100
50	30	20	

Two causes account for the large number of widows. Every girl is married before she is eleven years of age. Then we have but

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† Menu.

‡ The Smirti.



to reflect upon the enormous mortality taking place, between the latter age and the marriageable age in English society, to observe, how enormously the probabilities of widowhood are increased, after the widest deductions are made for the decease of the gentler sex. It must too be remembered that the number of widows is never diminished by marriage. Coupled with this most deplorable and unsatisfactory state of things, there is the other fact, that there are no unmarried, adult women in India. Every widower therefore is driven, whatever may be his age, to marry a child under eleven years of age. We must take into account the enormous number of men whom death deprives of their wives, after they themselves have passed their twenty-fifth year, and, since few Hindus remain unmarried, we shall perceive the vast number of incongruous, inauspicious marriages from all these marrying only children. Thus does one folly lead on to another; and nature, violated and despised, avenges herself by the inconveniences and suffering she allows to fall upon her unthinking and unrighteous contemners.

The sorrow and the crime caused by enforced widowhood are far beyond conception. There is first of all, the humiliation and self-denial inherently associated with the state. Possibly it is lightened in many cases by a humanity which struggles against *Shastras* and conventional inhumanity; but, admitting this, how dreary, desolate, hopeless and intensely wretched, must be the lot of all those myriads who are doomed to such a fate, by one of the most heartless and despotic series of laws and customs, which the wickedness and stupidity of man ever devised. We maintain that there is not a more unnecessary, and pitiless evil in the whole world than this, nor until it is swept away, can the men of India lay any claim to be considered a great and civilized people.

The difficulties and embarrassments it brings upon society are necessarily very great. A polytheistic race will never be either charitable or rich. There is a large amount of enforced almsgiving in India, but very little free, spontaneous benevolence; and even where there is Brahminical rank, there is often great poverty. Hindus and their offspring are therefore thrown upon the tender mercies of heartless, and poor relatives, and these too not their own but their husband's in most instances. The increase of domestic poverty arising from this cause alone must be very great; and the suffering and humiliation induced by dependence on those who not only look upon widows as accursed by the gods, but as an unwelcome burden upon their resources, may in some measure be imagined.

But humiliation and pecuniary embarrassment are by no means the only, or the greatest evils resulting from this unreasonable and pernicious custom; its immoral bearings are very obvious. Domestic purity and fidelity are greatly valued and jealously guarded in every Hindu home, but how often must these be destroyed and broken in a country where servants and dependents are numerous, where the various members of a family cluster in patriarchal fashion around the same centre, where religion ignores all moral instruction and discipline, and where youthful widows are but too numerous. Familiarised, as the latter are from childhood, with matrimonial associations; left without any moral discipline calculated to control the passions and guide the feelings; with a religion whose most popular legends delight in stories like that of Krishna and the milk maids of Brindaban; with no immediate protector to receive the lawful love of a heart, which is the more disposed to love because it has none on whom to lavish its affections, or by whom its emotions and sympathies may be observed or directed, we may well believe that they are often drawn aside from the path of integrity and honour. We are convinced that were the truth known on this subject, it would reveal an amount of crime which would be absolutely appalling.

Need we say that these facts present us with a state of society most deplorable and unsatisfactory; and the question naturally arises, what can be done to improve and elevate it. This opens up a subject whose ramifications are very wide and far reaching; and without attempting any thing at present but the slightest indication of the directions in which benevolent and remedial influences should point, we may say to every one who wishes the women of India to assume their rightful place of grace, dignity and importance in society;—let the education of boys and young men be largely impregnated with just and rational instruction respecting the true relations of their mothers, wives and sisters to themselves; let every opportunity be sought of drawing the native mind, not violently, but gradually, toward better customs, and a nobler and more confiding treatment of the weaker sex; and let every opportunity be judiciously and zealously embraced, of pushing forward the great, but difficult and delicate work, of female education, with the ultimate if not the immediate object in view of winning them over to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

ART. VI.—*Reports of the Special Commissioners in the Indigo Districts.* 1861.

2. *Nil Darpan, or the Indigo Planting Mirror.* 1861

3. *The Nil Darpan Trial.* 1861

**D**ISPENSING with a formal preface, we beg to submit to the notice of the reader, some further remarks on the subject to which we directed his attention in our last number.

It is stated that at some factories, the accounts of the native collectors of rents are kept in a very imperfect manner, and exhibit discrepancies of a grave nature; that in several instances, the balances entered against the farmers, were found, on investigation, to be nearly double the sum which was due.\* On one occasion, a register was brought forward, the last pages of which, comprising the accounts of several months, had apparently been recently written, for the leaves adhered together, rendering it highly probable they had not been opened since the respective items were entered.† The collector of the district of Kaspore came to the court of the commissioner, and being requested to give in a list of the chief defaulters in the villages under his charge, commenced to make it, but, after writing a few names, decamped, unwittingly leaving behind him bundles of papers, which, on being examined, were found to contain a double set of cash books. The new one, which had been prepared evidently for the purpose of communicating to Mr. Montresor wrong information, presented, on being compared with the original, alterations to the disadvantage of the ryots, amounting to more than two hundred rupees.‡ While noticing these frauds, justice compels us to condemn, in the most emphatic manner, the means which were used to discover them. It appears to us, that the commissioner had no right whatever to open these bundles, in the absence, and without the permission of the owner, and by doing so showed a great want of delicacy and propriety; yet he voluntarily gives a detailed narrative of this cunning transaction, and instead of being afflicted with a feeling of shame, as every individual with a nice sense of honour would be, he seems to pride himself on his acuteness. Some villagers who were not entered among the

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\* Mr. Montresor's Report, pars. 34, 36, 39.

† Ibid " 13.

‡ Ibid " 28.



debtors, had large sums standing in the books against them, and against the names of others, included in the list of defaulters, the balance was as small as half an anna.\* For this strange proceeding what reason can be assigned? A suit, however excellent may be its object, is, as every one knows, who is acquainted with the country, very expensive and attended with much inconvenience, while the obtaining of justice is quite problematical; it is, therefore, likely, that the debtors who were not summoned had presented hush-money to the collectors, and the persons who owed little or nothing to the factory, had been cited to wring from them bribes, by means of working on their fears of being taken to court, which, in the minds of the poor, is a place associated with irretrievable ruin.

The landlord of Shamuntah, on renewing the lease of a farm, demanded a bonus of five hundred rupees, which was given by Mr. Larmour, who, to realize this sum, levied contributions on the tenants, and, in little more than three years, obtained half of it. As there was some reluctance manifested about further payments, the native collector sought the aid of the commissioner, saying, that a word from him would cause the ryots to bring in the instalments which were due, but as the demand appeared to be of an objectionable character, he declined to use his authority to enforce it. In explanation of these subscriptions being made, it is stated that the bonus was tendered to the landlord, Puran Chundra Roy, to induce him to lease the farm to the factory, and prevent its being let to Nobakisto Paul, who, it was apprehended by the villagers, would increase the rents; to facilitate this arrangement, which would be advantageous to them in a pecuniary point of view, some of the head tenants of the place agreed to make good the sum to the Mulnath Concern.†

The commissioner observes, 'On my arrival at Domurhoodah a number of ryots from several villages attended, and requested me to receive from them rents in advance for the ensuing year. These were villagers chiefly connected with the properties in Mr. Hills' Concern. As Mr. Hills had brought no complaint of arrears against his ryots, and my duty was in no way connected with the ensuing year, I informed them I could not at present act in the matter; but that if a charge of withholding rent was brought against them, I would take their offer into consideration, at the same time giving them to understand that a verbal representation of this nature would be of no effect without

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\* Mr. Montresor's Report, para. 13.

† Ibid „ 36, 37.

‘the simultaneous production of the money.’\* On this paragraph Mr. Hills remarks: ‘it is altogether against the nature and habits of the Bengal peasantry to tender due rent before it is demanded of them. The request therefore to pay for the ensuing year, not then due, ought to have struck Mr. Montresor, that there was some ulterior object in view for so unusual a proceeding. As it appears that that gentleman had no business to inquire into their motives and actions, but only to accept their words and give them full credit for honesty and fair dealing, I beg leave to supply his omission, and explain why the request was made. He had not looked into their accounts, had he done so, he would have discovered that those very ryots were greatly in arrear for the year just closed, and which I have not been able as yet to recover; yet they appeared before him with cash in hand, mark, not to pay up what they really owed me, (and which was then upwards of annas 8 or half of their rental,) but for him to receive the money and give them credit for the subsequent year’s rent, in accordance with the receipts they held for the year just closed. Their object was solely this. Shortly before Mr. Montresor’s arrival in this district, in the months of Falgoon and Chyte, I issued notices to those ryots, through the local Deputy Collectors, under section 13 of Act X of 1839, that from the ensuing year I would demand from them a certain increase of rent, and it was with this fraudulent intention, of avoiding the necessity of complying with those notices, that the offer was made, and credit asked in accordance with the receipts they held for the previous year.’†

‘In all matters of rent,’ says Mr. Montresor, ‘the Tuhisildar is the sole medium of communication between the zemindar and the ryot. No money for rent reaches the factory, and no receipt for payment goes to the ryot, except through his hands. It is to his report alone that the European zemindar trusts for his knowledge of the progress in the collections of the rents of the village; and the statement and returns of this officer form the chief documents placed before the courts in rent cases.’‡

From the above it evidently appears the Planters are in the hands of the collectors, and to suppose they are cognisant of the frauds committed, would be doing them great injustice; for it is highly probable they are victimized to a larger extent than the ryots, and that those who are paid to serve them, rob them right

\* Report 17th May, par. 7.

† Mr. James Hills’ Reply to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 27th July 1861. par. 3.

‡ Mr. Montresor’s Report 10th June 1861 par. 15.

and left, without the least compunction. It may, however, be asked, is not employing agents who are guilty of forgery, perjury, extortion, and nearly every possible crime very reprehensible? As far as they have a knowledge of their proceedings, and we are disposed to think they cannot be altogether ignorant, it must be admitted they are much to be blamed for retaining them on their estates; but from this acknowledgment it does not necessarily follow that we should conclude they are lost to all sense of honour, and capable of soiling their hands with money wrung from the sufferings of the poor. Hindoo, Mohammedan, and European gentlemen, and also Lieutenant Governors have drawn pictures, which make some of the natives that sit on the bench, plead at the bar, and fill other offices in court, as great villains as ever walked the face of the earth; yet no one has breathed a suspicion of Civilians being corrupt; and though they could, in a single day, make ample fortunes by bribes, their integrity it is believed, never yields to the influence of the most powerful temptation; and is it an undue exercise of charity to say, that Planters exhibit similar virtue? Where are the facts to prove the contrary? That it is the duty of Government, of Planters, Merchants and private individuals to employ honest agents to conduct their business, must be allowed; but if they fail to do this, are we to infer, without satisfactory evidence to warrant the inference, that whenever roguery is practised by their servants, it is done that they themselves may obtain a share of the proceeds of iniquity? No one would impute such a crime to a European judge, lawyer, physician or clergyman; and why should it be imputed to the Planters? It is resolved to use every means, foul or fair, to drive them out of the country; and are there Europeans who can be so far duped as to join natives to effect this object? But suppose it to be accomplished, what step would be taken next? Would not class after class be banished or swept into the sea, till there was not an Englishman left? When they thought they had us in their power, did they spare community, sex, or age of the Saxon race, or of their own countrymen that had identified themselves with us by embracing our faith? and can we imagine four short years have wrought a miraculous change in their feelings towards us? Did the rebellion teach them no lesson? If they had doubts before, did it not put those doubts to flight, that in valour and humanity, in principle, in morals, and in every thing else which constitutes the character of real men, we are their superiors; and is it not this superiority which the disaffected to the British rule hate, and for which the well disposed, who form the body of the people, respect and esteem us?



Many villages that had relinquished the cultivation of Indigo, came to an agreement among themselves to refuse the cesses which the factory-servants had been accustomed to levy, but to enforce the payment of them the collectors declined to receive rent when offered, or, to avoid a direct refusal, absented themselves from the place for months, and could not be found. Meanwhile the non-complying ryots were entered in the list of defaulters for the purpose of having suits instituted against them.\* According to the accounts handed in by the tenants to the commissioner, the sum paid by them in the shape of custom, perquisites and subscriptions, was from twelve to three hundred per cent. It is right, however, to observe, that though Mr. Montresor has inserted these documents in his report, he adopted no means to test their accuracy. While we feel persuaded that on examination, the amount would be found to be less than is here stated, we are prepared to believe that the sum thus deducted from the earnings of the industrious poor, in the cultivation of indigo and every other department of business, is large; that the evil is daily augmenting, and, if no steps be taken to check it, will soon become intolerable. Important documents, which speak to the disadvantage of the planting enterprise, were received without evidence, and regarding their accuracy not a single inquiry was made. This indicates something like the bias and warmth of the partisan, rather than the calmness and impartiality of the judge, in which capacity the commissioner was sent forth. A thorough sifting of these accounts might have shed great light on all business transactions, and been of eminent service to every branch of trade and commerce. He may allege that such a scrutiny did not come within his province; yet the reader is naturally led to suppose that, when he quotes documents, it must be for some purpose similar to the following; to exhibit the soundness of the conclusions at which he has arrived, confirm or refute the statements of one of the contending parties, or show the nature of their quarrel and the obstacles to an amicable adjustment of their differences; but while their accuracy is unascertained, they can answer no such purpose, and publishing them to the world under the auspices of the Government of Bengal, is calculated to mislead persons both here and in Europe, who are honestly endeavouring to form a right judgment on the indigo question. Was this the object contemplated, and did the commissioner labour to achieve it? We do not believe he did; we give him full credit for rectitude of intention, and attribute

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\* Mr. Montresor's Report par. 95.

the grave faults in his report, rather to want of mental power than to obliquity of purpose. A great question, identified with important interests, and probably with the stability of the British rule, he cannot grasp. He appears to see objects always in a mist, and therefore indistinctly; hence his decisions are often opposed to the evidence which he brings to support them.

It is contended by the commissioner that there was nothing like a combination to repudiate the payment of rent, but he furnishes very conclusive evidence to prove the contrary. The rental of the Katgarah concern, comprising 105 villages, is rupees 86,371-10-8, the balance on the 12th of February was rupees 11,500, and at the commencement of March it was rupees 7,233-11-0.\* Some astonishment is expressed that four thousand rupees should have been realized in so short period, but there is nothing to wonder at in the matter. An opinion prevailed that Government was hostile to the cultivation of indigo, which emboldened the ryots to withhold their rents, but when they heard, and the tidings soon flew abroad, that special commissioners had been appointed to enforce all legal payments, many came to the conclusion that it would be fruitless to resist longer, and therefore brought in the balances against them. In this simple way the subject may be satisfactorily explained, and we are astonished that Mr. Montresor should have felt any surprise about it. The rent of the village of Mednipore is rupees 654, and the balance was rupees 432-10-7-2†. The rent of the lands belonging to the Bansbariah concern is rupees 79,507-11-0, and the balance is 27,744-12-4.‡ In the 24th paragraph of the report it is stated, that the defaulters of twenty three villages came to the commissioners court, some without being summoned, and paid the balances standing against them, which shows they withheld payment as long as possible, and made it only when they knew it would be enforced by law: a stronger proof of their purpose to repudiate rent could hardly be furnished. That the rents were really due which were said to be repudiated, and that cases were not got up to answer some ulterior object, may be seen from the results of the suits which were instituted. At Umbicapore 79 rent cases were tried by Baboo Grish Chunder Banerjea, and terminated in the following manner: 'Forty-six defendants 'paid down the amount on the decree being pronounced; in 'twenty eight cases the balances were realized on execution, with- 'out proceeding to attachment; and, in the remaining five, two

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\* Mr. Montresor's Report par. 42, 43.

† Ibid, par. 78.

‡ Ibid, 17th May par. 3.

'were pending, and in three, the decree holder had not applied for 'execution up to the 27th of April.\*' In every case the sum claimed was pronounced by the presiding judge to be legally due, and hundreds of cases, which might be quoted, terminated in the same way, affording proofs of an irrefragable character, of a wide spread combination to repudiate rent. While the commissioner declares there is no such combination, in nearly every paragraph of his report he adduces facts, which place its existence beyond all reasonable doubt. After consuming much time in asking questions, he sometimes stops in the middle of his inquiries, hints at the culpability of one of the parties, without conveying a positive charge which might be met, and then makes the sage remark, 'however, this is not my business,' and proceeds to something else, perhaps little less foreign to his purpose. Had we not confidence in his integrity, we should be inclined to think he cut short inquiries, when a further prosecution of them seemed likely to refute foregone conclusions, but we are prepared to believe, it arose from nothing worse than an erratic disposition, which he found it impossible to control. Not having a definite idea of the nature of his mission, and the specific duties it involved, his report, as might be naturally expected, is confused, vague, and inconclusive.

We now turn to the report of the special commissioner of the county of Jessore. This is a calm and lucid document, in which facts are stated as they were elicited, without the least colouring, whatever persons they may affect, and, almost in every instance, the judgment of the reader acquiesces in the deductions drawn from them. Well acquainted with the position and character of both ryots and Planters, and with the laws relating to the great questions pending between them, Mr. Morris sees his way clearly, and performs a vast amount of business in a short period; yet bustle and distraction of mind are nowhere apparent, every investigation is deliberately conducted step by step to its close, and, whenever we cannot coincide in his opinion, we differ from him with full confidence in the honesty of his purpose. Of the existence of a league among the farmers, to repudiate rent and the execution of contracts, he entertains no doubt whatever, and those who carefully read the evidence he adduces, can hardly help coming to the same conclusion.

The annual collections of the Nischindepore concern are between twelve and thirteen thousand rupees. Out of 17,059 rupees, 4,372 of which are balances of 1859,-1860, Mr. Durand, the manager, realized 2786, leaving a balance of 14,273 rupees.

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\* Mr. Montresor's Report 8th May 1861 para. 26.



‘His own servants have turned against him, so that his accounts have been left incomplete and imperfect; and many who owe their present prosperity to his bounty are the most bitter against him. With the exception of a few bighas around the factory, there are hardly any lands which he can now call his own, and I was shown a spot, says Mr. Morris, where he has obtained an Act IV. decree, for nearly 800 bighas, and of most of which he has been virtually dispossessed by his servants, not being permitted to sow indigo on them.’\* Ryots setting aside the legitimate proprietary rights of the Planter, and appropriating to their own use lands which he had been accustomed to cultivate by his labourers is now becoming a general practice.

The sum claimed by Mr. French of Ramnagar, on account of current rents and balances amounted to 28,000 rupees, and between the 28th of April and the 10th of May, he instituted, in the court of Mr. Deputy Collector Stevens, no less than 278 suits, representing rupees 2,579-5-11.† Great difficulty is everywhere experienced in measuring lands, and, owing to the combination of the tenants to prevent it, it is seldom it can be done. ‘For two months Mr. French has endeavoured in vain to measure his village of Durgapore, although his right to do so was decreed by Mr. Deputy Collector Taylor, and a protecting peon was sent to accompany the Ameen.’‡ Mr. Oatts of the Hizrapore and Porahattee concerns, who is acknowledged by the farmers to be a kind and indulgent landlord, ‘had not been pressing them for their rents, as he hoped that his indulgent and conciliatory policy would enable him to reap his reward in indigo. But he now admits that he has signally failed; and, excepting, perhaps, Nischindepore, there are no concerns, that I have seen,’ says the commissioner, ‘the future prospects of which appear so bad as these. This is a lamentable state of things, and is entirely attributable, as the people say themselves, to the bad *howà*, or surrounding and prevailing influences. In the Porahattee factory, 117 contracts for indigo cultivations were voluntarily taken, as proved by petitions to the joint Magistrate. Of these only seven have been carried out in their integrity. Honesty and good faith seem to have left the country. This was confessed to me by the Ryots themselves in the village of Marada. They spoke of the existence of a combination, and mentioned several men who instigated opposition to the factory, by reason of whom they were afraid to sow Indigo.’§

\* Mr. Morris' Report, 21st May 1861, par. 2.

† Ibid 21st May 1861, par. 3.

‡ Ibid 21st May 1861, par. 4.

§ Ibid 21st May 1861, par. 4.

Since the 6th of April, Deputy Collector Baboo Rutton Lal Ghose has disposed of 283 suits instituted by the Bijolee concern; and the effect has been that, out of a yearly rental of 22,612 rupees, only 1626 remain to be realized. There is a fact connected with this concern deserving much notice, and which will give the reader a pretty correct idea of the present lawless state of the indigo districts; it shows that the farmers who are well disposed to European settlers, are not protected either in their persons or property; that they are mobbed and trampled in the dust with impunity, as if the Police and the Courts of justice had no existence. The commissioner states 'I found the inhabitants of three villages, Bijolee, Bishtodia and Damookdia, the last of which is leased from Baboo Ram Rutton Roy, entirely on Mr. Oman's side. They approved of his conduct towards them, and had given him lands in putta, and agreed to sow Indigo for him; but they begged for protection from the villagers of the surrounding villages, who had joined in a combination against the factory. Two men showed me the marks of beating, which they had sustained for their adherence to Mr. Oman, and all spoke of the intimidation and threats that had been held out to them. They also complained of their lands being forcibly taken from them, and appropriated by others. Money had also been demanded from them to support the combination.\* Speaking of the Hizlabut concern, Mr. Morris says, 'It is manifest that the main body of the people is well affected towards the factory, and that, were a few designing and influential men, who, by lawless violence, intimidation and evil counsels, coerce the mass, put out of the way or held in check, the former relations that existed between Mr. Roberts and his tenants would be resumed. I obtained clear and palpable proof of the existence of a combination, and the word "Committee" I heard for the first time commonly used. The ringleaders are well known characters, and the pernicious influence that they exercise was a common subject of complaint. There can be no doubt that they levy black mail in the form of subscriptions, and both in the matter of Indigo and rent, prevent the people having any connection with the factory.† Hence too much stress cannot be laid on the action of Government, and the character of the magistracy at the present time. With active and experienced officers scattered over the country, quick to uphold the right and punish the wrong, I am persuaded that a proper equilibrium

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\* Mr. Morris' Report, 21st May 1861, par. 5.

† Ibid 30th May 1861, par. 2.

'would soon be restored, and things would right of themselves. 'In other words, rents would be paid without demur, and Indigo, like any other staple, would be governed by the usual laws that regulate labour and production.'\*

The Nil Darpan† is a drama in the Bengali language, which was published at Dacca, and represented in that city before a Hindoo and Mohammedan audience. The leading native characters, who are ryots, are persons of high principles, honest, faithful, and straight-forward; truce-breaking, cheating and lying in business transactions are crimes foreign to their nature, at which they stand aghast; their wives and daughters are beautiful, modest and chaste, and exemplary in each relation of life. Indeed, both the men and women are free from vice, and exhibit in their conduct the most exalted virtue. Before the advent of the planters, the place of their abode was Paradise itself; but those children of Satan came and marred the land. The European characters in the play are described as a disgrace to humanity, and without a single redeeming quality. To compel recalcitrant farmers to contract to cultivate indigo, Mr. Wood orders them to be imprisoned, starved, tortured, and scourged, and sometimes dispenses with the aid of others, and inflicts the punishment himself. When he speaks to the 'bloody niggers,' the designation he usually gives the ryots, it is in such foul language as would shock even the inmates of a brothel. Mrs. Wood is said to have 'no shame at all,' and believed to place her person at the service of a libidinous magistrate, who, in return for the indulgence, decides in favour of her husband all the factory suits which come before him in his judicial capacity. Ryots are condemned unheard, and thrown into prison for crimes which they never perpetrated. One of them, an aged and respectable man, in despair of obtaining justice, and weary of the miseries of life, hangs himself in jail; on hearing the sad tidings, his wife from grief becomes insane, and, in her madness, kills her favourite daughter-in-law, and then dies. The eldest son of the family also dies; the planter having laid open his skull by beating him with a club. Mr. Rogue, not Rose, as given in the English translation, who is a bachelor, has agents, both male and female, to decoy beautiful women to the factory, where they are forced to submit to his pleasure. His licentiousness is narrated in all its grossness; the door of the chamber is thrown open, and the reader is invited to enter and view with his own eyes each detail of the wickedness. Not deterred by a sense of decorum, delicacy

\* Report, 30th May 1861, par. 2.

† Nil, Indigo, Darpan, Looking Glass.



or shame, a feeling to which the writer<sup>s</sup> appears to be a stranger, his pictures are drawn at full length, and move before us in all their filthiness; and, lest it should be supposed they are portraits of exceptional individuals, he vouches for their being true likenesses of a large community of British settlers. 'I present,' he says, 'the indigo planting mirror to the indigo planter's hand; now let every one of them observe his face.'

The conductors of two Calcutta journals, that have taken a prominent part in the indigo controversy, are charged with writing against the poor, and in favour of their oppressors, who by cruelty and lewdness have earned for themselves a distinguished place in the annals of crime; and to sink the press beneath the contempt of all right-feeling men, and make it a disgrace to the English name, it is said these editors have received a stipulated price for the prostitution of their talents. In his address to the planters the author thus speaks: 'The editors of two daily newspapers are filling their columns with your praises; and, whatever other people may think, you never enjoy pleasure from it, since you know fully the reason of their doing so. What a surprising power of attraction silver has? The detestable Judas gave the great Preacher of the Christian religion, Jesus, into the hands of odious Pilate, for the sake of thirty rupees; what wonder, then, if the proprietors of two newspapers, becoming enslaved by the hope of gaining one thousand rupees, throw the poor helpless people of this land, into the terrible grasp of your mouths.'

After a circulation of some months in native society, the Nil Darpan was translated into English, and nearly three hundred copies were sent home, under the official frank of the Government of Bengal,\* addressed to private gentlemen, supposed to exercise great power in their respective circles, editors of newspapers, secretaries to philanthropic, religious and political societies, and influential members of the upper and lower Houses of Parliament. The parties attacked were left in the dark, while their reputations were being destroyed in their native land, and knew nothing of the clandestine procedure, till information respecting it reached them from a private source. When aware of the

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\* Sir Mordaunt Wells says, the circulation was nearly three hundred. The edition consisted of 500 copies. Mr. Seton-Karr states that the Indian circulation amounted to only 14 copies, and Mr. Lushington informed the court, that the copies undistributed were about 200, which makes the number despatched to England to be what we have mentioned. In the Calcutta Christian Observer for August, page 246, it is said 'about a hundred and fifty copies were sent home,' but whether this statement be correct, or the number were more or less, the nature of the proceeding is just the same.

existence and circulation of the pamphlet, they wrote to the Government of Bengal and asked for an explanation. The Lieut. Governor refused to comply with their request, and answered their communications in the vaguest manner, endeavouring to treat as a trivial affair, what, to men who had every thing staked on their good name, was a matter of life and death. Had an honest and ample apology been given, and the wrong done repaired, as far as possible, it is probable the gentlemen assailed would not have thought of ulterior proceedings; but being rudely repulsed, where they ought to have met with courtesy and redress, they resorted to the law. This was a step at which we felt no surprise, nor could in the least blame, still it was one which we regretted, because we apprehended it might interfere with the freedom of discussion, which at all times, and especially in the present juncture of affairs, is necessary to the permanent good of the realm. The Printer, Mr. Manuel was indicted in the Supreme Court for various libels on the Editor of the Calcutta 'Englishman' and the general body of indigo planters. Mr. Manuel, though legally wrong, was not considered to be so morally, and the suit was instituted against him, as the only way left open to arrive at a knowledge of the real culprit; therefore, on his giving up the name of the Rev. James Long, as the gentleman who brought the book to his press, the prosecutors, through their counsel, begged the Judge to treat him with all possible forbearance. He was in consequence fined only ten rupees, and left the court without the least reflection on his character.

So far from concealing his connection with the Nil Darpan, and wishing to avoid the legal penalties consequent on its publication, Mr. Long desired a declaration to be made in court, that he himself was responsible for the work, and, in compliance with this request, the printer gave up his name. He was indicted on the same charges as Mr. Manuel, and prosecuted on the 19th, 20th and 24th of July. The court was crowded on each day of the trial, and more attention and interest were awakened than had ever been witnessed before. Gentlemen of every grade of the Civil Service, Military Officers, members of the press, the Chamber of Commerce and the 'Trades' Association, merchants and bankers, clergymen and planters were present and watched the proceedings as persons deeply concerned in the result. Every one felt that a battle, regulated by the rigid forms of law, was now to be fought; that Government Officials and European Settlers stood face to face before a judge whom neither could bias. It was no longer a conflict between freedom and despotic power, between the principles of agriculture, trade, and commerce,

enunciated by Adam Smith, and those enforced by the Ruler of Bengal. These and all other questions for the moment gave place to the following. Have the people that have come from the mother country to this distant dependency of the Crown, by barbarity and lewdness on the one hand, or cunning and meanness on the other, ceased to be Englishmen? The audience recognized this to be the great point at issue, and foresaw that the guilty, however exalted their position, would be brought down to the ground filled with shame.

The prosecution was conducted with ability and fairness; but one portion of the counsel's address calls for animadversion; that part of it in which he alluded to the Rev. Mr. Smith, the martyr of Demerara, and whom he accused of 'inciting the negroes to insurrection, mutiny, and rapine.' This language was held not at a petty police tribunal, where it might be allowed to pass unnoticed, but in the metropolitan court of India. At the present day, when all educated Englishmen have a respectable acquaintance with the laws of their country, and the great events recorded in her annals, it was presuming too much on their ignorance, to suppose the history of our West Indian colonies was a region of literature they had not traversed. What are the facts of the case? Let us for a moment advert to them. From an edict issued in 1823, the West Indian planters believed they possessed authority to give or withhold passes to their slaves to attend worship on the sabbath. When the slaves, did go to the house of God, a police official accompanied them 'to judge of the doctrine taught to the negroes.' This surveillance was sanctioned and required by the express orders of the Governor. Many planters declined to give passes, or, in a spirit of mockery, gave them when the hours of divine service were over, and they were of no use. Some of the slaves had the moral courage to attend christian ordinances without permission, and, in consequence, subjected themselves to grievous punishments. The news of parliament having sent out peremptory instructions forbidding the use of the lash in the field, was not immediately made known, and a mistaken apprehension having got abroad, that a dispatch was also kept from them which announced their freedom, their fiery passions were roused. As the period of emancipation drew nigh, some of the planters became more resolved to indemnify themselves by increased exactions, for the services they were about to lose. The condition of the slaves was at last intolerable, and driven mad by oppression, they made a strike for their liberty, accompanied with rapine and bloodshed. These calamities excited in every wise and humane



person, feelings of regret, but surely not of surprise. The civil and military authorities, alarmed at the results of their own misgovernment, threw the blame on the clergy, and made them victims. At a signal previously settled, the striking at noon of the town clock of Montego Bay, twenty-six functionaries, we have all their names before us, 'crying now let us go,' rushed from the sanctuary of justice, and, gathering a mob, proceeded to the church, in which two thousand negroes were accustomed to worship their Maker, and laid the edifice in ruins; and, in the course of a few days, ten more churches in the western part of the Island, were reduced to ashes. The pastor, the Rev. Thomas Burchell, a Baptist clergyman, was thrown into jail. To deter other ministers from preaching the gospel to the African race, the following placard, measuring nineteen inches in length and twelve in breadth, was posted on the door of the court-house. Whether this was done by planters or Government officials could not be ascertained; but, whoever were the authors of the document, they had Satan's aptness in quoting scripture.

#### PLACARD.

"But the prophet, which shall presume to speak a word in my name which I have not commanded him, even that prophet shall die" Deuteronomy, ch. xviii, v. 20.

'May this be the fate of all such as Burchell!'

The Reverend Mr. Smith was charged with having instigated the revolt at Demerara, and was conveyed to George Town under a strong military guard. After an imprisonment of two months, he was tried by a court martial. Every circumstance was viewed and treated as suspicious, the laws of evidence were set at defiance, he was declared guilty and sentenced to be executed; but, while in jail, death came to his relief. His enemies, or rather, we should say, the enemies of his religion, which was raising the negroes to the dignity of men, not having their wrath appeased by the martyrdom of the husband, resolved to wreak their vengeance on his heart-broken wife. She purposed to pay the last rites of respect to the dead. To deprive her of this sad consolation, the police, by the orders of the Governor, took away the body, and threatened to send every one to jail that presumed to attend the burial. Brave in her sorrow, as women only can be brave, she followed, accompanied by a female friend, and saw the remains rudely sepulchred by the constabulary force. Not yet satisfied, the authorities had the heartlessness to take from the woman, whom they had made a widow in a foreign land, two hundred guilders, under the pretence of payment for the main-

tenance of her husband while in prison; and they then filled her cup of anguish to the brim, by knocking down the monument which an affectionate flock had reared to his memory. It is to be hoped that such outrages on justice and humanity, were never perpetrated before, and will never be witnessed again. They filled the people of England with burning indignation, and perhaps, contributed more than any other events, to advance the cause of freedom. The walls of parliament resounded with the eloquence of Mackintosh and Brougham, and the noble sentiments uttered by those noble men met with a response in the breasts of all classes, from the cottage to the throne, nor were the ministry of the day apathetic. In a dispatch to the Earl of Belmore, Governor of Jamaica, Viscount Goderich thus speaks of the West Indian revolt: 'Amongst those who acknowledge 'the divine authority of our national faith, there is no room for 'controversy respecting the duty of imparting the knowledge 'of christianity to all mankind, and especially to our more im-'mediate dependents. However, the modes or seasons of instruc-'tion may be regulated according to the various circumstances 'of different classes of society, nothing can justify the systemati-'cally withholding from any man, or class of men, a revelation 'given for the common benefit of all. I could not therefore ac-'knowledge that the slaves of Jamaica could be permitted to 'live and die amidst the darkness of heathen idolatry, whatever 'effect the advancing light of christianity might ultimately have 'upon the relation of master and slave; nor am I anxious to con-'ceal my opinion, that a change in this relation is the natural 'tendency, and must be the ultimate result of the diffusion of 'religious knowledge amongst them. For although the great 'moral virtues of contentment, and universal benevolence may be 'expected to appear amongst a christian slave population, as the 'legitimate fruit of christian principle, yet all probability justifies 'the belief, and all experience attests the fact, that the increased 'range of thought, the new habits of reflection, and the more 'lively preception of the duties owing by their fellow-christians 'to themselves, to which the converted slaves will attain, will 'gradually produce in their minds new feelings respecting their 'servile condition.

'It is not, however, merely to a misconception of religious 'truth, but to the direct instigation of some of the Missionaries, 'that the recent insurrection is ascribed in some of the documents 'which your lordship has transmitted. I have observed with 'great satisfaction, the efforts which you so judiciously made to 'guard the persons to whom it would belong to sit in judgment

‘on the Missionaries, against the influence of religious prejudices; and I trust that the caution which you have given, will effectually prevent the manifestation of any intemperate or hostile spirit towards them in any subsequent stage of the proceedings. I most distinctly avow my conviction that the improbability of the charge is so extreme, that nothing short of the most irresistible evidence could induce a belief in it. The Missionaries who engage in the office of converting the slaves in our colonies cannot, with charity, or in justice, be supposed to be actuated by any views of secular ambition or personal advantage. They devote themselves to an obscure, and arduous, and ill-requited service: they are well apprised that distrust and jealousy will attend them, and the path they have chosen leads neither to wealth nor reputation. If, in their case, as in that of other men, motives less exclusively sacred than those which are avowed may exercise some influence on their minds, it were irrational either to feel surprise, or to cherish suspicion on that account. The great ruling motive must, in general, be that which is professed, since, in general, there is no other advantage to be obtained than the consciousness of having contributed to the diffusion of christianity throughout the world. When, therefore, I consider that no motive can be rationally assigned, which should have induced the Missionaries to embark in so guilty and desperate an undertaking, I cannot but earnestly trust, that the trial of any of their number, who may be charged with a participation in this rebellion, may have been postponed until comparative tranquillity should have succeeded to the first panic, and that such trials may have been conducted, not before a military tribunal, but with all the regular forms of law. Should any such Missionary have been convicted, and be awaiting the execution of his sentence on the arrival of this dispatch, your lordship will not permit that sentence to be carried into effect, till his Majesty’s pleasure can be known.’\*

This digression the reader will think, has occupied too much of his time, but we could not acquiesce in the justness of the stigma cast on the memory of the pious and heroic dead, and felt it to be our duty to place the matter before the Indian public in its true light. We do not for a moment believe that the counsel, to whom we have adverted, is capable of designedly injuring the reputation of his fellow men, and doubt not he will regret as much as ourselves the sentiment to which, in the heat

\* The dispatch from which the above passages are quoted, is dated the 1st of March 1832. The whole document was published in the Jamaica Courant, on the 13th of May, and in the London Times on the 22nd of June.



of argument, he gave expression. Without further observations we leave the facts to speak for themselves, feeling assured that the martyr of Demerara and his devoted colleagues will be remembered with affection and reverence when those who vituperated and maligned them are all forgotten.

We shall now proceed with our notice of the Nil Darpan trial. The counsel for the defence accomplished all that could be done for his client, and did well whatever he attempted. Though he lost the case, an event which he doubtless foresaw from the beginning, in conducting it he lost nothing of self-respect, the advocate and the gentleman kept together, and not a word fell from his lips which the audience wished recalled. The presiding judge exhibited a sound and comprehensive knowledge of the law, and his charge to the jury embodied all the qualities becoming such addresses, except that of calmness. The want of this made him appear in one part of the charge more like the pleader than the judge; but there was no palliation of vice, no perversion of law, nothing to undermine the foundations of liberty, or that could injuriously affect the real welfare of any class of society, native or European; there was warm sympathy for English ladies who had been grossly libelled, a fearless condemnation of the Government of Bengal, that, instead of suppressing, had propagated slanders, and a stern rebuke to a minister of the gospel, who had written a preface to an obscene publication, and helped to spread it abroad. In this departure from established usage the mind of Sir Mor-daunt was not ignobly stirred; in the irregularity there was something of greatness, and the sentiments of the man went far to excuse the absence of the judge.

The defendant was adjudged to be imprisoned for a month and to pay a fine of a thousand rupees, and no solicitation was made to mitigate the sentence. As the chief object of instituting the suit was to reach a greater culprit, it would have been the dictate of wisdom, to say nothing of mercy, to have treated him with the dignified forbearance shown to the printer; but when we remember the wrongs the prosecutors had borne, though we lament, we are not surprised that the law was permitted to take its course, and that no attempt was made to lessen the punishment so as to divest it of all appearance of a harsh and vindictive spirit.

In strict accordance with the law the court pronounced Mr. Long guilty, but was he morally wrong, is a question which may be raised and is one worthy of calm consideration. To form a sound judgment respecting this question it will be necessary briefly to notice the part he has taken in the discussion

about indigo planting. The indigo controversy originated from some statements made in the minutes of the Calcutta Missionary Conference which assembled in the month of September 1855, and consisted of fifty-one clergymen and four laymen. The Rev. C. Kruckeberg stated, that the Ryots expressed a hope that the Santals, who had lately revolted and revelled in blood, would come and help them to throw off the yoke of the planters.\* The Rev. G. G. Cuthbert said he never heard of more than one thoroughly Christian man remaining in the planting business, and he was ruined.† At a subsequent period he endeavoured to palliate this unguarded language, but in the opinion of most people made the matter worse. He said 'Stronger things than he (the missionary) has yet had to comment on, are said by laymen, 'practically acquainted with the subject. A friend of mind has 'often quoted to me the remark of a gentleman not undistinguished in the public and the literary world of India, who was 'for many years engaged in indigo affairs, and whose name, were 'I at liberty to mention it, would carry weight with most persons. "That every chest of indigo that comes into the market 'is stained with human blood." This, I must own, is stronger 'language than I can use from my own knowledge of the matter.'‡ The Rev. F. Schurr says: 'If the planter enjoys the 'friendship of the civil servants, he can oppress, imprison, and 'ill treat the Ryots with impunity. By some planters' orders, 'villages have been plundered and burned, and individuals killed,' and in another part of his paper he speaks of the bad example of the planters, 'their incontinence, their severity, and brutality.'§ The Rev. James Long was present at the conference, but from the record of the proceedings it does not appear that he then made any remarks respecting the planters unbecoming the spirit and character of a Christian minister. About five years after the missionary gathering, the following letter, reflecting on the daily press, the Magistrates, and the planters, appeared in one of the Metropolitan journals. The writer sent his name to the editor, and that gentleman revealed it to the public, apparently being provoked to do so by attacks on his character. He says, 'Mr. Long complains,' in his statement of his connection with the Nil Darpan 'of the violent and acrimonious editorials and letters 'of what he calls the Indigo papers. A specimen of Mr. Long's 'own style will show what right he has to complain of virulence

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\* Calcutta Christian Observer, November 1855, p. 529.

† Ibid November 1855 p. 530.

‡ Ibid June 1856, p. 267,

§ Ibid November, 1855, pp. 507, 511.

‘and bitterness. See his letter, signed a Missionary, in the Hurkaru of the 5th of April, 1860.’\* This is the communication to which reference is made.

### A MISSIONARY AND THE PLANTERS,

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ‘BENGAL HURKARU.’

SIR,—The Daily Press here, being all on the side of the Indigo-planting interests, announce that peace and order are prevailing now in the Indigo Districts, with few exceptions. I have information of a different kind however, and from trustworthy sources—it is a peace procured by the dungeon and the stocks—by Magistrates pandering to the interests of Planters. The Magistrate gets good cheer in the Planter’s house; of course he is not ungrateful enough to give a decision in favor of the ryot, which, besides, would bring on him the abuse of the Calcutta Press. The unjust deeds of certain Magistrates are noted, and in due time will come to light.

A “reign of terror” exists in certain districts—factory godowns had they ears, could tell sad accounts of the sufferings of ryots. Yes sir, certain Planters can make use of Black Holes as well as Saraja Dowla did, while the violation of their daughters will teach ryots how they complain of the Indigo sahib.

You may say, Sir, oh, the Commission will investigate this—the reign of terror Sir, the stocks and the black holes are rapidly drilling ryots never at any time possessed of courage, *into silence. A ryot’s life will soon not be safe, who bears testimony against the Planter.* As for the Commission, the well applied bribes and the black hole will make the ryot testify to any thing the Planter wishes, and the Commission will fail in eliciting truth.

Let me ask you, is an Austrian policy to be carried out in this country—we have already the beginning of it, and Mr. Wilson may yet be the Radetzky of India—he is well intentioned, but he is allowing himself to drift on with the Calcutta current.

I am sorry to write this, Sir, of the doings of certain men, but it is the system which is at fault—the system of forced advances and fictitious arrears,—the system which pauperises the ryots of a whole district to prop up a serfdom.

I trust that in your paper you will allow the principle of *audi alteram partem*.

Yours, &c.,  
A MISSIONARY.

\* Bengal Hurkaru, 28th June, 1861.

✂ We admit with sorrow the above letter, written by an English Missionary who has not been ashamed to give us his name. We pity him if he



On the 12th of June 1860 Mr. Long appeared before the Commission of Inquiry into Indigo Planting, and the evidence he gave fills nine quarto pages. It contains many statements important in themselves, but few that bear directly on the great business of the Court. It is very discursive, most portions of the testimony which relate to the Indigo enterprize are described to be the expression of native thought and feeling, and whether he sympathized with them, or not the reader is left to conjecture; but now and then his own opinions are announced, and though nearly always hostile to British settlers, they are not characterized by extravagance. When asked if he believed the statements of the ryots as to outrages on women, he replied, 'I felt we had to inquire about a system and we might have a good man working a bad system, and a bad man working a good system. For instance, if it could be shown that in a certain district there were four or five Missionaries guilty of immoral practices, this would not prove that the missionary system was bad, and so with alleged immoral practices of planters as bearing on the planting system. I, of course, can have no personal knowledge of this, any more than I can have of many vices in society whether European or native, which are deeds of darkness, and done in darkness.\*' When asked if he gave the tale which he had circulated as an individual instance of a general practice among planters, and if he believed that instance to be true, he answered. 'Not as an individual instance of a general practice, though I have been acquainted of late years with various facts relating to outrages. I am glad to acknowledge, however, that there is a great improvement in the morals of Indigo Planters. That such things should be of occasional occurrence in a certain state of society is not surprising; from the respectability and integrity of my informants, I find it morally impossible to disbelieve it; I have no inclination to blacken the characters of my countrymen.†'

believes these falsehoods: we pity him more if he disbelieves them and yet publishes them. What we wish to point out is, that the Missionary, and we are afraid the Government, *do not really wish the Commission to enquire into the "system," to be appointed.* The cry now is bribes, murder, arson, rape will keep the ryot silent. A MISSIONARY knows that this is false, for he himself has been, within the last week, visited by a number of ryots who came to Calcutta, no man hindering them, to complain. No—unless planters insist upon it, there will be no commission, and firebrands and falsehood mongers like A MISSIONARY will still continue to have the power of working infinite harm—ED. HURK.

\* Indigo Commission p. 161 Question 1663.

† Indigo Commission p. 161 Question 1664.

About the period\* he gave evidence before the Indigo Commission, Mr. Long was chairman at the annual meeting of the Family Library Club, and made a speech in which he was understood to have exhorted the natives present, all educated young men, to begin something like a crusade against the Anglo-Saxon race, as a special duty which Providence imposed on them in behalf of the indigent classes. This speech was published in the report of the institution, and elicited some animadversions in the newspapers. Mr. Long gave an explanation, in which he stated that he had no thought of inciting a war against European settlers; and after this every body was disposed to pass over the matter as one of those effusions which say little for the wisdom of the head, yet leave the heart in the right place; such effusions had previously been given to the world both by the clergy and the laity, and very unreasonable would be the person that should expect from the lips of chairmen and platform speakers, nothing but the words of a sage.\*

But to revert to the Nil Darpan, Mr. Seton Karr observes. 'About the month of October or November last, the Reverend Mr. Long brought to my notice the existence of this drama in the original Bengali, and a native hawker who was commissioned by the Native author to sell the book, brought me a copy, which I purchased. Until that time I had never heard of the work.†

'I mentioned the work to the Lieutenant Governor, in the belief that it was my duty to bring to his notice all native publications illustrative of popular feeling. The Lieutenant Governor, as well as other persons, expressed a desire to see a translation of this Drama, and Mr. Long informed me that a native was willing to translate it. A translation was accordingly made under my sanction.'

'I think I am correct in stating that up to this point all I had done was also with the knowledge and sanction of the Lieutenant Governor. He approved of my noticing the work, and of the act of translation, and of the printing, but he never intended that so large a number as 500 copies should be struck off. I believe that he contemplated that a small number of copies should be printed, to be dealt with as he might think fit.'

'When the work of translation and printing was completed, the copies were brought to my Office, and Mr. Long gave me the names of several persons to whom he was desirous that the work should be sent; other names were also added by me to the

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\* For the strictures on the above speech of Mr. Long, see the *Calcutta Englishman* 15 July, 1860.

† Mr. Seton Karr's statement with regard to the Nil Darpan.

'list, and I must here distinctly repeat, what I have avowed already, that the circulation under the official frank took place with my sanction and knowledge, and without that of the Lieutenant Governor.\*

Mr. Long superintended the translation of the Nil Darpan into English, the proof sheets passed through his hands, and were returned to the press, all the corrections being in his handwriting, from which it may be fairly inferred he was thoroughly acquainted with the contents of the book, the obnoxious passages could not have escaped his notice, and by stating in his preface 'the language is plain but true' he adopted the whole as an expression of his own opinions.

As the planters could not be humbled to the dust alone, the dramatist involved editors, magistrates and English ladies in their humiliation, and represented European society in the rural counties as one mass of corruption more destructive than the plague. It is possible individual Europeans may have been as wicked as they are described in the play, but the author declares, that the persons whose portraits he draws are types of a class, and not exceptional characters.

This literary weapon being of a terrible nature was seized and wielded against British settlers. The laws of honour for the moment were dropped. Had they been observed, the parties concerned would have been apprized of the blow to be struck; but stratagem, though banished from circles in which gentlemen move, is yet practised in war. To keep the enemy ignorant of his danger, to attack and rout him in the dark are achievements which generals covet; and if, inspired with military ardour, the Nil Darpan men adopted the policy of the camp, it was doubtless to accomplish a greater amount of good than they could otherwise have effected. Of this we are assured by the best authority, their own words; but notwithstanding these assurances we think the course they pursued highly culpable; justice, religion and humanity condemn it. To libel a large community of English ladies and gentlemen, hold them up to the reproach of the whole people of England, and keep them in ignorance while the deed was done, was as Lord Canning rightly designates it 'a great public scandal.' The minute of the Viceroy on this painful subject does honour to the name he bears, it breathes something of the spirit of his illustrious father. Arguments have been advanced to justify or palliate this great enormity, but they are too weak to impose on the understanding of a child. It is said

\* Letter of Mr. Seton Karr, 29 July 1861, to E. H. Lushington Esq. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.



a celebrated dramatist attacked French physicians, but he avowed the piece,\* advertised it in the usual way, and all the doctors of Paris went to see the play and enjoyed it more than other persons. The men ridiculed were admitted to be exceptional characters, quacks and scoundrels, and Moliere not only afforded amusement to his countrymen, but was considered by the physicians themselves to have done excellent service to the medical profession. But the cruel, corrupt, and shameless Europeans in the Nil Darpan are declared to be types of a class and not exceptional characters. The Bengali dramatist, or rather we should say the gentlemen connected with the English translation, did not follow the example of the Frenchman. They did not publicly acknowledge the work, it was not advertised in the newspapers, the planters were not invited to the play, nor was it acted in Calcutta; it was sent many thousand miles to be exhibited in the metropolis, and in the provincial cities and towns of Great Britain; and strange to say it was contemplated to improve the lives of European settlers not by warning and instructing them, but by concealing their sins from them, while revealing them to other persons. If this did not show a want of benevolence and charity it at least evinced a great deficiency of wisdom, and it may be doubted if a similar instance of reforming mankind can be adduced from any period in history since the foundation of the world. It is also affirmed that the Nil Darpan, like other Bengali books, was translated into English to be submitted to the authorities here, to make them acquainted with the expression of native thought and feeling on a subject of great importance respecting which there had been much discussion; yet the pamphlet was not sent to the Governor General, to the Government of India, to the members of council, to the commissioners, judges or magistrates, the circulation in this country was only fourteen copies, and most of these were called in or destroyed; while the number sent to England, where there was no pressing necessity for the publication, and where its contents, if true, could be productive of no beneficial results, was about two hundred and eighty-six, addressed to gentlemen believed to possess great influence, some of whom were known to be hostile to the planters. From this every person will draw the same conclusion that an object which required for its accomplishment such secrecy and a path so circuitous was very unlikely to be a good one. It may be said that such books as the Nil Darpan act as an antidote to vice by exhibiting it in its most repulsive form, and thus give to the morals of society a healthy tone. This

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\* *L'Amour Médecin.*

method has antiquity to recommend it. The ancients made their slaves drunk in the presence of their children to deter them from contracting the habit of intoxication, forgetting it might have a contrary effect, and give them a taste for wine. To do evil that good may come is a notion prevalent at Rome, but finds no sanction in the sacred page. Religion is light, and in this element her sons live, reflecting in their works the glory of God, being herself beautiful and bright and pure, to her belongs the ministry of righteousness and truth, and on her lips are words of good will to men; but craft, mystery and deceit she leaves to the children of the world who 'love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil.' A ruler of forty millions of people, and while the provinces over which he presides were in a state of anarchy, stooped from the dignity of his office as never ruler stooped before him, so that the exercise of confidence in his administration by European settlers has become an impossibility. With favourable opportunities for rendering eminent services to the Crown and earning for himself a great name he has thrown Bengal back more than quarter of a century, where land and labour can be procured to any extent, requiring only English capital and enterprize to make them highly remunerative, he has caused a loss of a million and a half sterling; and if he carry out his policy with vigour he may have the satisfaction of beholding the Indigo districts in the Delta of the Ganges, which is the most fertile portion of the empire, a complete desert, and of receiving at the close of his career, as a reward for his toil, the thanks of those natives happily but few in number, who are disaffected to the British Raj, who hate his countrymen, and wish for their expulsion from India. As two of the Nil Darpan men earnestly solicited the Legislature to frame a statute to punish the publishers of immoral writings, their being guilty of a breach of this law is declared to be a very improbable event. There is sometimes a wide space between doctrine and practice. Bacon was a great philosopher, yet he had the infirmities of a man. The President of the Commission of Inquiry into Indigo-planting, penned these memorable words. 'There are considerations which are paramount to mercantile interests and political expediency, and to all material advantage—the simple consideration of justice and truth.' This sentence would do honour to a Grecian sage, yet the author of it fell, and had the humiliation to acknowledge that he had read and sanctioned, the translating, the printing, and circulation of one of the foulest books in the world, written to traduce English ladies and gentlemen who are exiles in this

distant land To defend this clandestine proceeding is to add insult to injury.

For his share in this mournful business Mr. Seton Karr has made an ample apology; the Lieutenant Governor has assured the world of his regret, but in a way so cold and languid that we should suppose, did we not know the contrary, it was not so much for the sin itself as for its being found out; Mr. Long in a becoming manner has expressed his sorrow for the pain he has given, and twenty years of devoted labour in education, literature, and the Christian ministry will not be effaced from the memory of his countrymen by one deplorable act.

The German missionaries who have taken a distinguished part in the Indigo question, have been subjected to much animadversion tending to lower them in the estimation of the public, but all who have the honour of their acquaintance, know them to be equal in learning, in laborious discharge of duty and in sanctity of life to any body of English or Scotch clergy. As founders of missions and promoters of science and civilization, some of their countrymen have earned in India great names. That the land which was the cradle of the Reformation and gave birth to men who bearded the insolence of Rome, rescued nations from her thralldom, and changed the face of the world, has become a Nazareth from which no good can emanate is a declaration that will cause every intelligent person to smile. Suppose, however, the missionaries of the county of Nuddea passed their infancy and youth in the condition which the newspapers graphically describe, and before visiting the East lived on sauerkraut, which by the bye, is relished by kings and cottagers alike, this would in no way contribute to a refutation of their statements about Indigo planting, these must be examined on the spot, and no reference need be made to genealogical tables deposited in archives on the other side of the globe; moreover prying into the pedigree of Sahibs, whether in or out of the services, has been prohibited in this country from time immemorial, and to ask a person what his grandfather was, is breach of good manners; we are all well born, may use armorial bearings, and place the founder of our family in any period in the annals of the world, after or before the deluge, and as on these delicate themes etiquette enjoins silence, awkward questions and revelations are avoided. Without gratifying our curiosity by enquiring into the lineage of the missionaries of Nuddea and ascertaining the exact position which their ancestors held among their contemporaries, we shall notice the degree of importance which is to be assigned to their statements in forming a right



opinion of British settlers. Believing indigo cultivation to be inimical to the welfare of the peasantry, and like other evils, an obstacle to Christianity, to the diffusion of which they have devoted their lives, they employed all their influence to root it out of the land. While we respect their motives, we are disposed to think their zeal carried them beyond the limits of prudence, and was productive of results which they never contemplated. It was befitting clergymen to speak of the oppression, extortion and cruelty that came under their notice; and to contend that they were acting out of character in doing so, though a cry often raised and one which meets with much approval from a certain class of persons, is scarcely worthy of a moment's consideration. It did not frighten the ministers of ancient times. Whoever reads the writings of the prophets will find their denunciations of iniquity comprehended every breach of the decalogue and spared no rank of transgressors; the members of the college of Galilee had the courage to rebuke sin, no doubt some of their contemporaries thought it very unclerical, and called them insane, pestilent and seditious fellows bent on turning the world upside down, but undeterred by clamour and unelated by applause they changed not their doctrine or became more supple in their manners. The Christian ministers of the country of Nuddea are to be blamed not for following, but for deviating from apostolic practice, they exhibited a want of discrimination and judgment, a fault with which the sacred penmen can never be charged. The condemnatory language in which they spoke of the planters was understood to embrace almost the whole body so that for the crimes of individuals nearly all the members of a large community were brought into contempt. Strongly biassed against Indigo cultivation they were not careful to weigh their words and actions, but this neglect of prudence did not lessen the pain and injury inflicted, it rather augmented them, nor could it be accepted as an adequate apology by the aggrieved parties. In the course which they took we believe they were influenced by the best motives, and the sole object they had in view was to promote the well-being of the industrious poor; for we think it quite possible for conscientious men to entertain widely different opinions about the planting enterprize, and should wonder if on such a difficult and complicated question complete unanimity prevailed. The real interests of the Native and European, we conceive to be identical, and were this view of them generally taken and made the basis of action, the country would prosper. Let each be supported by the law in the free exercise of his legitimate rights, that on the one hand no force be used to make the

ryots cultivate any crop, and on the other that they be not allowed to violate with impunity their pecuniary obligations, then we should have a respected Government, thriving colonists, and a well conditioned peasantry ; but let the constituted authorities, ignorant of the first principles of trade and commerce, represent these interests as conflicting, and do all in their power to set race against race, then the bankruptcy of capitalists, the ruin of farmers, misery and anarchy, will, as at present, be the results, and the administration of Bengal continue to be a by-word among our countrymen at home, and be pointed at in all parts of the world as the most insane of Governments.

We do not consider the planters to be either angels or fiends. They possess, with but little difference as to number or degree, the virtues and vices which are seen in other communities. There may be individuals among them with many characteristics of the Evil One, and who are always out of their element except when doing the work of their infernal Master ; but this may be truly affirmed of every other section of society. The exchange, the pulpit, the bar, and the bench are now and then dishonoured ; still we believe the body of merchants, of ministers, lawyers and judges to be true and faithful men, and that deliberate villany and sanctimonious hypocrisy are rare and not common crimes. If the same discrimination and charity be exercised in forming a judgment of the planters, and they be compared with an equal number of other Europeans, in or out of the services, they will not suffer in the comparison. Taking into consideration the peculiar circumstances in which they are placed, and their provocations and wrongs, the corruptions of the courts, the inefficiency of the police, the character of the people who repudiate the execution of contracts and the payment of rents, the insecurity of property, the opportunity and temptation to take the law into their own hands, every person, who is well acquainted with the country, will be astonished at the amount of good which has been done and at the little evil which has accompanied it. That they had done more to promote the material prosperity of India, than any other body of Europeans was the opinion of Lord Bentinck and Lord Metcalfe, and these were no ordinary statesmen. Many evils do prevail, but most of them must be attributed to the Government, for under a wise and energetic administration they could not exist. Crime is found to pay, for the chances against detection and punishment are a thousand to one. Forgers and perjurers drive a flourishing trade, and the business is regularly transmitted from father to son. If the Government be in real earnest about the welfare of the country, and the

honour of the British name, let it at once use all its power to suppress these and similar crimes, which gnaw at the vitals of the state, then the people will learn, what long experience has taught the nations of Europe, that 'honesty is the best policy.'

Under a wise, energetic and humane Government, the natives would be a prosperous and well conducted people, and when recipients of a sound education and a pure faith, they will make India one of the finest portions of Christendom. We love them, but we hope too wisely, to encourage them in wrong doing. Seizing other persons' lands, breaking business engagements and refusing to pay rent must in the end lead both them and the country to irretrievable ruin. Capital and European knowledge are required to develop the resources of the empire; but if things continue much longer in their present state, both money and skill will take their departure for other climes.

The 'Bengal Hurkaru' and the Calcutta 'Englishman,' the journals which are maligned in the Nil Darpan, have faced many storms; in fair and foul weather they have pleaded the cause of liberty; in times when it was dangerous for a man to say his soul was his own, they have staked all on an honest expression of their opinions. Their views of politics, of trade, of developing the resources of the country, and of the interests of natives and Europeans, have generally been correct and been stated with ability and candour. If now and then they have used reprehensible language, let it be remembered they cannot follow the counsel of the Roman poet, who advises authors to keep their works by them for years before giving them to the world; editors of daily papers must send their manuscripts to the printer when the ink on them is scarcely dry; and if a few warm words be penned in the glow of composition, on the morrow, though they cannot recall, perhaps they are the first to regret them. On a careful examination it will be found they transgress the laws of propriety as seldom as the leading journals in Europe. But on this subject is there not an unhealthy sentiment abroad, which in the fulness of its strength is one of the precursors of the fall of states? It is thought that both weak and wicked rulers, should be addressed in the soft language of the nursery; but persons in high places who abuse their trust, if they will not reform must be exposed to public censure, and though the infliction may produce no moral change in the chastised, it may save the nation, by driving them into private life, and bringing into office men of wisdom and virtue. Being a human institution, the press is not an unmixed good, but the evils which attend it are few, compared with the blessings that



come in its train; it is every where a powerful auxiliary to the proper administration of public affairs, and one of the strongest bulwarks of the rights of the people.

### APPENDIX.

The following table, which refers to the loss sustained in one season only, gives a pretty correct idea of the situation of the planters, and pre-shadows the apparently inevitable ruin which is coming upon them. Though the block of the respective concerns is valued at the sum it would command in ordinary times; many indigo factories, in the building and establishing of which thirty thousand pounds were expended, if now offered as a gift would not be worth accepting, the policy of the Government of Bengal has so much depreciated property, and rendered it every where so insecure.

NAMES OF CONCERNS.	Loss in Season 1860-61.			Value of the Block in Feb. 1860.			NAMES OF CONCERNS.	Loss in Season 1860-61.			Value of the Block in Feb. 1860.		
Ackrigunge ...	60,000	0	0	150,000	0	0	Salgaemoodea.	80,000	0	0	250,000	0	0
Dhamoodea ...	30,000	0	0	75,000	0	0	Heezeleebut ...	40,000	0	0	100,000	0	0
Comedpore ...	40,000	0	0	100,000	0	0	Doveracole. ...	40,000	0	0	150,000	0	0
Meerpore ...	30,000	0	0	100,000	0	0	Manjeeparrah...	15,000	0	0	40,000	0	0
Bamundie ...	50,000	0	0	200,000	0	0	Cossimpore ...	75,000	0	0	150,000	0	0
Kateelie ...	20,000	0	0	150,000	0	0	Packydangah ...	10,000	0	0	50,000	0	0
Nundunpore ...	15,000	0	0	50,000	0	0	Meergunge ...	50,000	0	0	600,000	0	0
Sonada ...	10,000	0	0	30,000	0	0	Muddendaree ...	40,000	0	0	100,000	0	0
Hurrah ...	10,000	0	0	50,000	0	0	Nosibshye ...	50,000	0	0	300,000	0	0
Mulnath ...	70,000	0	0	600,000	0	0	Nowhatta } ...	50,000	0	0	300,000	0	0
Khal Boleo ...	40,000	0	0	550,000	0	0	Chowlea } ...						
Katgurrah. ...	30,000	0	0	150,000	0	0	Porahatty } ...						
Patkabaree. ...	50,000	0	0	150,000	0	0	Hazrapore } ...	60,000	0	0	250,000	0	0
Loknathpore. ...	40,000	0	0	300,000	0	0	Jengergatcha ...	10,000	0	0	50,000	0	0
Sondooree. ...	40,000	0	0	200,000	0	0	Baboo Kalee ...	40,000	0	0	100,000	0	0
Bejoolie ...	30,000	0	0	100,000	0	0	Ramnaghur ...	10,000	0	0	100,000	0	0
Nischindypore	80,000	0	0	600,000	0	0	Sericole ...	40,000	0	0	150,000	0	0
Bansbarreah. ...	40,000	0	0	200,000	0	0	Barraset ...	12,000	0	0	75,000	0	0
Carragodah ...	10,000	0	0	100,000	0	0	Shikarpore } ...						
Catcheekatta ...	50,000	0	0	200,000	0	0	Concerns } ...						
Joradah ...	40,000	0	0	200,000	0	0	Robert } ...	300,000	0	0	2,500,000	0	0
							Watson } ...						
							& Co. }						

ART. VII.—*Note by the Commissioner charged by Government to revise Civil Appointments and Salaries.*

2.—*Memorial of the Uncovenanted Service for the amelioration of their Official condition.*

NO ordinary amount of observation suggested the remark, 'with how little wisdom the world is governed!' But, if by wisdom we are to understand the forethought, judgment and sagacity of man, and if in the idea of government we are to recognize the direct application of specific means to definite ends, means adapted and adequate to attain those pre-arranged ends and no other; we may go further and declare that such wisdom and such government have no existence. Results frequently surpass and astonish the most sanguine expectations, and from small beginnings, meant to be circumscribed and limited in their operations, gigantic institutions have been reared, of which the founders could have had no conception in their wildest dreams. Without alluding to a higher principle, we may account for such progress by referring to the law of gradual development which seems to be inherent in all things around us. Circumstances vary and demand to be accommodated, errors and defects suggest their own remedy, and so this inherent law of development produces gradually the most astounding results in spite of man's 'little wisdom' and often contrary to his plans and wishes.

These remarks are exemplified in the origin, rise, and present condition, of that branch of the Indian administration, known as the Covenanted Civil Service.

A number of 'fine old English gentlemen, all of the olden time,' actuated by a spirit of enterprize and the hope of gain, formed themselves into a company of merchants, with the view of opening up the Trade of the East Indies. Their first idea was to convey the produce and manufactures of England to India, and receive back similar supplies from the East. They had no resting place in these territories, not an acre of land that they could claim. But very soon it became necessary to make good a position on shore for the systematic conduct of their commerce, and accordingly coast factories were established. The servants of the Company were sent out with authority and

credentials to conduct their business, subject to certain rules of discipline, and thus was formed the nucleus of what afterwards became a powerful body, and an institution of the Government.

The earlier history of the service is not without interest. Grades of rank were established with a scale of salaries which were merely nominal. At Madras about the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a President with a salary of 200*l.* per annum, six Councillors at 100*l.* each, six Senior Merchants at 40*l.* each, two Junior Merchants at 30*l.*, five Factors with 15*l.* each and ten writers at 5*l.* each per annum. The Servants of the Company were, however, permitted to trade, which, in many cases, more than compensated for the very trifling amount they received in the form of direct remuneration; and it actually required two centuries to convince the Company, of the obvious impolicy of this system.

But John Company was neither wise or far seeing. Present economy was his first consideration, and so long as large investments came across the sea, he cared little for what was lost to him by internal commerce, or how much he suffered by the energies of his servants being divided between their personal interests and those of their employers.

The social condition of the service at this period was peculiar, and demands some attention. Being the only Europeans then in India, they naturally kept together, and the instructions from home, suggested by motives of economy, encouraged this state of things. They were ordered to live together, and not distribute themselves 'up and down in the town.' They were to dine together, in order that the younger servants might be under the check of their superiors, and be thus restrained from excesses. Paternal John always evinced a most tender care for the morals, and conduct of his younger servants, relying no doubt on the correctness of the principle, that the child was father of the man. The instructions from the company were, however, not strictly carried out by their distant servants; for, at this general table, 'the dishes, plates and drinking cups were of massive and pure silver,' and we may be sure the other appointments of the table were upon the same extravagant scale. We find also that a band of music attended the President at dinner, and that there was a flourish of trumpets to announce his arrival. But though these servants lived much together in the same buildings and forts, and dined together, they seem not to have presented the appearance of a very 'happy family.' Fierce contentions rose up among them, and, following the example of the times, frequent appeals were had to the duello. But worse still, the President controlled his



counsellors with the aid of a staff, which he appears to have used with considerable freedom, either to enforce his arguments, or perhaps to maintain discipline. One unfortunate refractory member of the Council complained that the President had inflicted on him 'two cuts on the head, the one very long and deep, the other a slight one in comparison to that; then a blow on the left arm, which has inflamed the shoulder and deprived me of the use of that limb; on the right side a blow on the ribs, which is a stoppage to my breath and makes me incapable of helping myself; on my left hip another nothing inferior to the first, but above all a cut on the brow of my eye.' This staff might also have been used, with salutary effect, in the correction of the unsteady and irregular lives and conduct of the Company's Servants of those times; for we find, the excesses of the night were betrayed by the shaky handwriting of the morning, and that gambling, and a disregard of all wholesome restraints were freely admonished by their paternal masters, who did not think it beneath their dignity to inquire into the details of the domestic arrangements of their servants, and pass imperial edicts as to the number of horses a president or a writer should keep in his stables, or drive in his conveyance, or to make the penalty of a violation of these orders dismissal from the Service.

The first great change from this abnormal condition of the Service, was caused by the conquest of Bengal. The acquisition of territory naturally transformed these merchants and tradesmen into administrators and diplomatists; but, nevertheless, the condition of the Service continued much the same as before. Pitifully small salaries were still the rule, and it cannot be a matter of surprise, that those who engaged freely in private trade to remunerate themselves, should now use the large powers, of which they suddenly found themselves possessed, for their self-aggrandizement. Lord Clive's mission of reform to India, and the efforts of Warren Hastings, the first Governor General, seconded by the Act of Parliament, which ordained that no servant of the Crown or Company should accept presents from the Princes or other inhabitants of India, tended much to restrain the cupidity of the Company's Servants, though, of course, they greatly reduced the advantages of the service, restricting the gains, with the exception of the miserable pittance in the shape of salary then allowed, to private trade. Lord Cornwallis saw clearly the anomaly of this state of things, and strove to prohibit private trade; but honest, careful, conservative John could not see the policy of spending a few more pence to gain ever so many more pounds, and halted

and vacillated till the Ministry came to his aid, and, impressed with the Indian Governor General's representations, introduced a clause in Charter Act of 1793, prohibiting the Company's Servants engaging in private trade. To raise the salaries of their Servants to such an amount as should be worthy of their high position, a fair remuneration for their important services, and a suitable compensation for the sacrifice of home and the pains of exile, soon became a necessity ; and the service from that time assumed a shape and aspect which it has retained to the present day.

The commencement of the nineteenth century saw the Company still a trading body, but their character as rulers in India grew and strengthened in spite of themselves. They would fain have gone on trading in their own quiet way if they could, but imperious circumstances would not permit that, and against their will they became a great and formidable Governing Power recognized by the whole civilized world. The change necessitated a far higher order of qualification than was formerly demanded of the Company's servants, and Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor General of India, projected a College on a large scale, in order that 'the writers, on their first arrival, 'should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the 'rules and discipline of some Collegiate Institution, at the seat 'of Government.' Anticipating the sanction of the Court of Directors to the proposal, and fully persuaded of the advisability, nay, necessity of the measure, he at once opened the College of Fort William, which was to expand into the proportions which he had sketched for his grand project, so soon as the sanction of the Court was received. This sanction was refused ; the grand scheme was laid aside ; but our readers are aware that the Colleges of Fort William, Madras and Bombay, with all their important advantages, have continued till now. They continued even after a College, for the purposes contemplated by Lord Wellesley, was established in England, and served to justify his opinion, that a short training for the young writers in an educational institution, among the people with whom in public life they would have to deal, was most desirable. But the College at Haileybury was an admirable institution, and fully answered the high and practical ends for which it was established. It sent out into the world of official and political life in India, many names which add a lustre to the pages of Indian history, and we gladly accept, in its full breadth of meaning, the opinion of a writer of the day, who says, "An abler or more honorable body of public servants 'has never been engaged in the administration of any country

‘in the world, than those who graduated at Haileybury and passed College at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.’ Nor was the association at College without its advantages. Friendships formed at home in youth were matured in a distant land; a laudable emulation which may have sprung up at college, was carried with its beneficial influences, into a different sphere; characters and tastes, which were slowly forming in early association with others, grew and strengthened and became confirmed under the same individual influences in after life; and so the literary tastes acquired by the graduates of Haileybury, were indulged in at a distance from *alma mater*, much to the credit of the institution. But better than all, there was created under this system an *esprit de corps*, a tacit compact and understanding among its members, which impelled them to act together to maintain the character, honor and efficiency of their exclusive service. It is quite true that, whilst Haileybury flourished, there was little change in the family names of its graduates and of the Civil list; but what of that? the efficiency of the public service was not in any way impaired by this circumstance. On the contrary, the bright examples of fathers and uncles must have stimulated the younger representatives of the name, to be their worthy and successful imitators.

But that together with these benefits there were many serious disadvantages, both in a social and official point of view, cannot be denied. The spurious aristocracy it raised in a community whose class divisions have ever been a barrier to its advancement; the assumed fitness of its members for any service whatever, to which they might be appointed; the frequent changes of office, without reference to antecedents, which the rule of gradations in rank and emolument entailed, were some of the evils which disfigured one of the finest services in the world. These defects however did not undermine its stability. John Company had become unpopular; perhaps, because he was not fully understood, but one of his most serious offences was his unlimited power and patronage. It was not to be tolerated, that so many persons, without political power or social influence, possessing no great amount of wealth, but having merely the accidental advantage of being holders of Indian Stock, should have the power to confer rank and wealth by a simple nomination to the service, which in time might raise the fortunate recipient to the Governor Generalship of British India, and to emoluments superior to any enjoyed by ministers of the Crown. The Indian reform party agitated the question in Parliament, and by the Charter Act of 1853, the



patronage of the company in the Civil and Medical services was lost to it for ever.

Whether the Competitive is an improvement upon the former system of nomination is a question which time alone can solve; the service has indeed been thrown open to all the educated youth of the United Kingdom; but it has, nevertheless, lost nothing of its exclusiveness. The most serious defect of the Competition system, however, is, that it is based on the error of confounding learning with education. The education and special training of Haileybury were wholly overlooked, and a certain amount of learning,—of mere scholastic knowledge—was substituted for a system of preparation, which, though it may occasionally have failed, might with reason be supposed to be the most obvious means of ensuring fitness: and when we consider that the service was after the Charter act of 1853, to be supplied from all ranks and classes of the community, and remember to what perfection cramming is carried in England, we shall not be surprised to find, that, with the College at Haileybury, the pride and prestige of the Civil Service proper has passed away.

We have seen the origin and rise of the Covenanted Civil Service of the East India Company until it reached its zenith of power and importance; we have discovered what was the first parasitical plant which grew on this stately tree, and we shall find that subsequent changes will be produced by circumstances, as imperious as those under which it sprung into being and was forced into strength and maturity.

The territory of the Company had widened over the length and breadth of the land; the demand for judicial and fiscal administration had increased with the acquisition of territory; and what with expensive wars, and, perhaps, not the most scientific management of the finances of the country, the Company had been drifting for years into a very uncomfortable state of insolvency. Parliament had already determined that a Covenanted Service was essential to the efficient administration of the Government, but the Covenanted Service was deficient in strength to meet the exigencies of the state; it became necessary, therefore, to call in auxiliary aid. The first step to this end, was to demand the help of Military men for the performance of purely civil duty. Such employment was not unacceptable to those whose prospects had hitherto been confined to army rank and promotion, and the measure suited the economical views of Government.

The consequences of the measure to the Army, do not fall within the scope of our observation. But even this means of

supplying the demand for executive control, was found inadequate, and it became necessary to look still further for additional strength. The materials were found ready prepared to hand.

This important change in the aspect of the service, came on as gradually and imperceptibly as all the rest had done. From an early period in the history of the Covenanted Service we find, that native writers, who were employed, as copyists, to relieve the Covenanted officers of the drudgery of the desk, filled the Government offices. In the course of a century we see, that the advantages of employment under Government, had attracted men of superior ability into this subordinate service: by slow degrees higher and higher duties were entrusted to this class of servants, until they found themselves by their intelligence, character and faithfulness, in positions of high and important executive control. The taunt of an arrogant member of the superior service, that the Uncovenanted Servants were mere hirelings, possessing no rights or privileges, and entitled to nothing beyond the wages which, as manual laborers, they had earned, being retained or dismissed at the pleasure of their Covenanted employers, was not without truth. But the Government, more just and honourable than their supercilious servant, recognized them as a Service, appointed them a status which their usefulness and ability had earned for them, and granted them privileges of leave of absence and pensions, which proved to be not only a fair and liberal concession to deserving men, but also had the effect of rendering this branch of the Service more valuable than it had been, of improving in no small measure its tone and character, and, consequently, its utility to the state. These effects were soon perceptible. Some of the important executive offices, which had been held and scrupulously retained for the superior service, fell one by one into the hands of these subordinate uncovenanted *employés*, till the once broad line of demarcation between the two\* became so faint and indistinct as to be scarcely perceptible, and several appointments were made, both at Madras and in Bengal, which those in authority who watched the interests of the more favored Service, as secured to it by law, unhesitatingly set aside. Still the demands of the country for responsible executive administration were not capable of being supplied by the exclusive Covenanted Servants, and thus it was that, with reluctance, but under the pressure of a necessity which was not to be avoided, the primary boundary lines which divided the services were removed further and further back into the territory held by the superior officers, to make way for the advancing tide of the more subordinate class of public Servants.

The appointment of an Uncovenanted officer to act as a Civil Judge in Bengal, forced the Supreme Government to pass the following orders on this point. "According to Geo. III, Cap. 16, 'all vacancies happening in any of the offices, places, or employments in the Civil line of the Covenanted service in India shall be, from time to time, filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall respectively happen.' It might be difficult perhaps to define very precisely all the offices which are or are not included in the words 'offices, places, or employments in the Civil line of the Company's service' but it is quite certain that the office of Civil and Sessions Judge is included in them. A reasonable interpretation has always been put upon the words of the law; but if these words should now be interpreted, as not including those offices in the regular Judicial and Revenue lines of the service which have hitherto been held only by Civil Servants of the Honorable Company, the law would be annulled altogether."

This attempt to illustrate the law, and the weak and inconclusive inferential conclusion to which the expounders of the Act arrived, only showed the difficulty which beset the question, and left it as uncertain as ever. A Commissioner was appointed with the view to revise Civil salaries and appointments, and in an elaborate minute prepared by Mr. Ricketts, an attempt was made to determine precisely, what appointments should be considered as coming strictly within the meaning of the Act, and what, though once held by the Covenanted Service, should be now declared open to Uncovenanted officers; but this minute made a complicated subject still more complicated, and the suggestions it contained never received the sanction of authority.

It cannot be denied, however, that the enquiry was conducted in a liberal spirit. It was admitted, that, as the Uncovenanted Service was composed of all classes, Europeans, East Indians and Natives, fitness should be the only acknowledged claim to preference, that in defining the limits of the Covenanted and Uncovenanted rights, opportunity should be taken to enlarge the list of Uncovenanted offices, as far as might be done with justice to the claims of the Covenanted. It was contended that the fact of opening to the Uncovenanted servants, offices which had hitherto been held as the prescriptive right of the Covenanted service, would stimulate energies that were dormant from hopelessness, and raise up a large number of competitors, fully qualified for any duties with which Government might be willing to entrust them; and the effect of these suggestions was shown to be,



that the services of none but fully qualified persons would be secured, and that the resources of the country would be greatly relieved, since it was not intended to remunerate the Uncovenanted according to the standard of salary allowed to the Covenanted service. But whilst it was the intention to reduce the salary of these Covenanted appointments when held by Uncovenanted servants it was contended, not without some show of reason, that the salary of an appointment, whatever it might be, should be drawn alike by the European and Native, as either might happen to be placed in it. The correctness of this opinion seems however to be doubtful. Although it may be admitted, that, in appearance, it is invidious that the same duties and responsibilities should carry with them different salaries, a higher remuneration to an European and a lower one to a Native, yet, strictly speaking, the value of labour must be regulated by the price of the commodity in the market. If one man can sell his service at a good profit on a lower scale than another, it is difficult to understand the policy of appointing an equal allowance to both, when the consequence of such unnatural equality is over-liberality to one, and only common justice and fairness to the other. It may be difficult to adjust salaries, in exact proportion to the claims of the different classes of a heterogenous service, but it is, nevertheless, a problem which will, no doubt, admit of some kind of solution.

The concluding paragraph of Mr. Ricketts' note, explains the practical results to which his enquiry tended. He says:—'The steps necessary in this matter,' namely the revision of civil salaries and appointments, 'are, first, the revision of the list and the transfer of every office, or class of offices which it may be considered right to reserve for the Covenanted service, to the list styled 'Exclusively Civil,' secondly, the modification of Act 33 Geo. III. Cap 16, which rules that all vacancies happening in any offices, places or employments in the Civil line of the Company's Service in India, being under the degree of Councillor, shall be from time to time filled up and supplied from amongst the Civil Servants of the said Company belonging to the Presidency wherein such vacancies shall respectively happen, and the enumeration of the offices which shall be exclusively filled by Covenanted Servants, and shall not be bestowed on any other class except on temporary emergencies when Covenanted officers will not be available; and thirdly, should the doctrine of payment according to race prevail, a declaration of the per centage by which the salaries now adjusted shall be decreased when an office may be bestowed on

‘ a person of European descent born in India, or an East Indian, or a Christian Native, or a Hindoo or a Mahomedan Native.’

It was not to be concealed that the Uncovenanted Service had now risen in importance, and become an element more than ever useful in the administration of the State ; and at this particular juncture, steps were taken to improve and confirm their advantage. They memorialized the Home Government, with the sanction it is believed of the local authorities, with a view to a reconsideration of the regulations under which they were placed, relative to leave of absence and ultimate retirement from the Service. This was a most judicious movement, and the prayer of the petition was reasonable and moderate, and supported by arguments and representations, which those even, whose interests were antagonistic to the memorialists, were unable to impugn. The memorial embraced three leading points, and they were such as it was believed the Government would be willing to consider. *First.* That the bar be removed which, by law, (Act 33 Geo. III.) excludes Uncovenanted Servants, whatever might be their merits or special qualifications, from holding offices heretofore reserved for the Covenanted Service. *Secondly.* That the rules for leave of absence be relaxed ; and *Thirdly.* That the period of service qualifying for pension should be reduced.

With respect to the first of these, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the service which gained a certain amount of consideration as mere copyists, and when the only qualification required of it was penmanship, should look for higher privileges when in the course of a century they had risen to fill offices of high trust. They were now beginning to stand side by side with the members of the Covenanted Service in the executive administration of the country, and Government had already admitted them to occupy a certain position within the limits of the disputed official territory, which by law was to be held by the Covenanted Service alone. The demand of the Government for executive officers had forced them to employ uncovenanted Agency, until the proportion of Uncovenanted to Covenanted officers in only the Judicial and Revenue lines, was found in Bengal to be as 402 to 163 ; in the North Western Provinces as 363 to 121 ; with a still greater preponderance of Uncovenanted Servants in the Punjab, and the presidencies of Madras and Bombay. The Memorialists did not ask for equal rights with the Covenanted Service, but only for advantages superior to those which had long ago been conceded to themselves as recognized public servants ; they solicited that those of them ‘ who had passed through a term of approved service in India should not solely

'by virtue of a system,' and a law, unsuited to the present age, be passed over when qualified and worthy to be promoted to offices, hitherto reserved exclusively for members of the Covenanted service. There was a fear, perhaps, that if the land-marks, which divided the Covenanted from the Uncovenanted service, were altered according to the petition, the absence of any definite rule of admission into the Uncovenanted service would open the door to the exercise of patronage, and to the abuse of the power which the measure would place in the hands of the local Governments, and that nepotism would inundate India with incompetents from home. But the forethought of the Memorialists led them to fence round the prayer with conditions, which would secure a well earned advantage to themselves, and yet render any abuse of power or patronage an impossibility. 'The prayer of your Memorialists is on behalf of the Uncovenanted officers of *approved service only*, whose able and faithful discharge of important duties must, in many cases be a better test of qualification for responsible office, than scholastic acquirements alone.' This clause not only shows how the admission into the hitherto exclusive offices might be secured to men best qualified to fill them, so that the interests of Government should be subserved; but it also suggests that, looking to those interests, it is wiser to employ men of practical experience, of tried and proved fitness, than, for the sake of merely supporting a weakened oligarchy and the faded prestige of a once powerful body, to entrust important offices to those whose scholastic acquirements might be admitted, but whose assumed fitness lies in the fact of their being members of the superior service.

In considering different systems, we are apt to assume opposite conditions without sufficient proof. But it must not be supposed, because men of superior scholastic acquirements have been admitted into the Covenanted service under the competition system, that its members, under the former *regime* were deficient in such accomplishments, or that the Uncovenanted service are wholly wanting in intellectual culture. The higher advantages now opening out to the last service, have attracted to it gentlemen of education, which, under more fortunate circumstances, would have placed them on an equal footing with their more favored brethren; and there is no question, that the number of such will increase with the gradual improvements which may be anticipated. The most that can be said of the competitive system is, that the mental discipline which is necessary to arrive at eminence in scholastic acquirements, would probably stand in good stead in the application of the mind to the business of life;



but in this system the adoption of suitable means to a specific end is wholly wanting. Clever lads who have shone in Classics or Mathematics, or have been well crammed for examination in the Sciences, are pushed into positions of administrative importance, or Executive control, and expected to succeed by virtue of their mathematical or classical training. Now, without referring to the natural tendency of the mind to relax its efforts when the object for which its strength was put forth has been attained, there is obviously no preparation in this system for the work to be performed. No sort of provision is made for that training which Lord Wellesley contemplated when he proposed a College for young writers in the heart of their future labors; or better still for that preparation for the higher duties of office which the Uncovenanted service acquire by a familiar practical acquaintance with the various branches of the administration, through means of the early and systematic performance of their subordinate duties.

To return to the Memorial. The two other petitions it contains are, for the relaxation of the existing rules for Leave of Absence for the Uncovenanted Service, which were felt to be unnecessarily stringent, and for a reduction in the period of service qualifying for pension, which was considered too long. The rules for leave of absence for the Covenanted Service, provide for sick leave for a period of three years consecutively, the absentees retaining their appointments for two years. For the first two years of absence they draw half pay, not exceeding £1,000 nor less than £500 per annum, and for the third year £500 are allowed to officers of 10 years' standing, and £250 to those below 10 years. The rules for the Uncovenanted Service also allow three years sick leave in all, but only two years can be consecutive; and before a second leave is granted, a service of two years is necessary. The pay on leave, is half the amount of salary for the first year, not exceeding £600 per annum, and one third of salary after that period. The Uncovenanted Service do not petition for an extension of the period of leave; they are satisfied to have, like the Covenanted Service, three years sick leave during the whole term of service, nor do they ask for any modification of the allowances already granted to them during such absence. All they want is, that the three years leave may be available at one term or by instalments, as it may be required; and the prayer is not unreasonable. There can be no practical good in making it difficult for a servant to obtain temporary rest from his labor under certain general limits, whenever ill health may compel him to seek repose; and the pecuniary loss which

the measure entails, will be a sufficient safeguard against a resort to it on small grounds.

In respect to Furlough, the Covenanted Service are allowed three years, available by instalments after certain periods of service, vacating their Offices, with pay during absence of £500 a year. The Uncovenanted Service are now allowed one year without pay during the whole course of their service, and such absence does not reckon as service. Seeing that the Service is receiving daily accessions from a class to whom furlough is as great a benefit as to the Covenanted Service it is not surprising that the memorialists should pray for two years furlough, on one third salary. It is intended that this privilege shall be fully and fairly earned. They ask that the first grant shall not be made until after 10 years service, and the second not until after a further service of five years; but that after fifteen years of unbroken service furlough should be granted for two years continuously. The present rules of the Uncovenanted Service, in respect to leave on Private Affairs, are the same as those which apply to the Covenanted Service; namely, six months in every six years on half pay, with this difference, that the half pay of the Uncovenanted service is restricted to £600 a year as a maximum. The leave of absence which counts as service in respect to the Covenanted Servant are four years in all—three of furlough and one of sick leave—besides absence on privilege leave and on private affairs. The Uncovenanted Service may, under present rules, claim as service two years of sick leave, besides privilege leave, and leave on private affairs; but with exemplary magnanimity the memorialists give up the advantage of reckoning absence on sick leave as service, and ask to retain this concession only for the period passed on privilege and casual leave. The expediency of foregoing an advantage already yielded by Government, may, perhaps, be questioned; but it affords a proof of the spirit of earnestness and moderation which characterizes the movement. The memorialists also propose, that the present rules be retained for special and privilege leave, which are much the same as those which apply to the Covenanted Service, privilege leave of 1, 2 or 3 months consecutively being granted to both branches of the service, after 11, 22 or 33 months of actual service.

There is no direct analogy between the two branches of the Civil Service in respect to retiring pensions. The members of the Covenanted service quit the service on an annuity purchased by monthly deductions from their salaries, a moiety of the purchase money being contributed by the State; whilst the Uncovenanted Servants retire on a certain

rate of pension granted as a free gift by Government after certain terms of approved service. The conditions at present are, a pension of  $\frac{1}{3}$  pay to judicial officers, and officers in the educational Department, after 15 years service under Medical Certificate, and after 20 years to all other Uncovenanted officers. On half pay on Medical Certificate to judicial and educational officers after twenty-two years' service, and to all other Uncovenanted servants after 30 years' service. And a retiring pension of  $\frac{1}{2}$  pay to all Uncovenanted officers without Medical Certificate after 35 years' service. Liberal as these concessions are, the protracted terms of service to constitute qualification, greatly diminish their value, and often reduce the prospect of the Uncovenanted servant, to toil and labor unbroken and unremitting, for life. The prayer of the Memorial therefore is, that all sections and departments of the Uncovenanted service should be brought under one uniform code of rules; that service before the age of 21 years shall not reckon as qualifying for pension, and that the period passed on leave of every sort, except casual and privilege, shall also be excluded. This ground-work being established, the Memorialists ask for  $\frac{1}{3}$  pay after 15 years' service under Medical Certificate: for half pay after 22 years' service under Medical Certificate, and for a retiring pension of half pay without Medical Certificate after 25 years' service.

The same spirit of moderation which characterized the other petitions of the Memorial is apparent in the prayers relating to Retiring Pensions. This will be admitted when the effects on both mind and body from sustained, hard, active service, frequently combined with severe mental exertion, in a depressing and often sickly tropical climate are considered. In order that undue advantage should not be taken of the privilege of retirement after 25 years, in a service not strictly guided by rules for admission, it is provided that service to reckon for pension shall not commence till the age of 21 years, so that no servant could possibly retire, unless disabled from sickness, till the age of forty-six and then after active service of a full quarter of a century, in the trying and wasting climate of India. But after all it is an advantage placed within the grasp of the few only who might be able to accept it. It is reasonable to suppose that many will continue in the service after they are entitled by rule, to pension. The pleasures of retirement are not to be compared to the advantages of full pay to men whose expensive private and family responsibilities have grown up around them with their increasing means, to maintain which retirement allowances are wholly inadequate; necessity could alone



excuse the sacrifice of income which retirement would entail; and if such necessity did really exist, it would be cruelty to refuse an indulgence purchased at so severe a cost. These remarks apply with still greater force to retirement on Medical Certificate.

The liberality with which the Christian portion of the Uncovenanted Service, who are the chief promoters of this movement, have admitted their native brethren into full participation with themselves, in the advantages they propose, is highly commendable and worthy of special remark.

Equal legislation demands perfect similarity of condition. No system of jurisprudence, no efforts of the most philanthropic statesman can force things into a state of equality which are essentially unequal. The process of raising the inferior to the level of the superior class must be gradual, at the same time it is impossible to depress the superior class without humiliating it and producing the most disastrous consequences to both. The process of assimilation may be promoted, by extending the privilege of the higher to the lower order, which they may by degrees improve to their own benefit, but not by violently conferring equal rights, powers and privileges to all alike, which, in effect, would place the inferior in a position of unnatural and unmerited relative elevation above the superior order. In the Uncovenanted Service, as in the community at large, there is an admixture of the Anglo-saxon and the native. To place both on an equal footing of pay and emoluments, would be to give the native an advantage over the Christian; to put the one at once in a condition of affluence, whilst dooming the other to a far more protracted term of servitude; for it is impossible to deny the correctness of the opinion of the Sudder Court of Madras, that 'it is not too much to compute the value of a 'rupee to a native at three times what it is to an European.' There is, as has been said, an essential difference of condition in such a case, which defies the application of the principles of equality, without palpable injustice to the higher and better order. But when we turn to the privileges and advantages which the Uncovenanted, as a service, seek, these distinctions and differences of condition vanish, and all may equitably stand on a common platform. There is a self-adjusting principle in the measure, which will operate to adapt the rules to the conditions of every individual member of the service. Nothing is forced; one does not get more than another, or more than he actually requires; but certain privileges are placed within the reach of all alike, and those alone who want them, will avail themselves of them. Why should not a native, actuated by a spirit of laudable

ambition, equally with the European, who may be drawn by family ties and home associations, visit England on furlough, if he can? Or why should Government exact more than the service of a quarter of a century from a native, before he is permitted to retire on half pay, simply because he is a native. If he can labor on in the country of his birth, and amidst all his social ties and connections beyond that period, it is very certain he will do so; and if he cannot, there is no reason why he should not be set at liberty with the proportion of the privileges conceded to the service, which, by a faithful discharge of duty, he may have earned for himself. It is in this principle that the inferior orders, by sharing in, and improving for themselves the advantages of the superior classes, become assimilated to and amalgamated with them.

The Uncovenanted Service may congratulate itself on the prospects which are opening out before it. The blow struck at the patronage of the Covenanted Service, the financial exigencies of the State, and the large demands of the Executive Administration caused by the extension of territory, and the gradual introduction of English institutions into the country, have done for it what no efforts of its own could have accomplished. They have brought about changes which, thirty years ago, would have startled and paralyzed the nerves of the hardiest, and most easy going East Indian Uncovenanted servant, if he could have seen them in all their present magnitude and reality.

The opportunity is not to be lost. The better portion of the Uncovenanted Service need not now expect to drudge on in obscurity in the lower ranks. Ability must show itself and rise to the surface. The demands of the Executive Administration which are great must be supplied; and in no direction can the authorities look to supplement the Covenanted Service with such assurance of success, as to the subordinate cognate service, the training of whose members in official details fits them for the higher appointments of executive control.

The demand will create the supply. The concessions sought for in the Memorial if granted will attract men of superior ability, and it is quite within the range of probability that, as the early writers of the Covenanted service rose to fill the highest posts under Government, so the mere copyists, the first representatives of the Uncovenanted Service, may find themselves, in time, occupying positions in the administration of the State, the attainment of which they now view with incredulity, not perhaps unmixed with a feeling of awe at the important trusts, and large responsibilities which they will entail.

We have seen the rise and progress of the Civil Service; we have observed how their originally contracted and limited plans gave way to circumstances, which, unlooked for and undesired, made them masters of an Empire. This mighty Empire has now passed into more legitimate hands, and the great and powerful Oligarchy is dissolved. It is dissolved; but, with trifling changes, the Government and administration of the Company still remain, to undergo revolutions still more surprising perhaps, than any that have yet befallen them. The powerful institution, by means of which the Company worked out its plans, the Covenanted Civil Service also remains; but its patronage is gone, its prestige dimmed. True, it is still a close and exclusive service, but every day we find new avenues opening to admit strangers within its sacred enclosure, and behold profane feet treading the charmed circle. The past official history of India is replete with interest and instruction, but what has been, affords no clue to what is yet to come.

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ART. VIII.—*Report to the Secretary of State for India in Council on Railways in India, for the year 1860-61, by Juland Danvers, Esq., Secretary Railway Department, India Office 1st May 1861.*

THIS is the second report that has emanated from the able Home Secretary to the Railway Department, and it certainly draws public attention to the important subject, on which it treats, in a very popular manner. Mr. Danvers seems to be a great master of figures, a most perfect statistician: it is curious also to observe the careful manner, in which he obeys the mandates of the people of old, who said to their prophets 'Prophesy unto us smooth things'. We who had all been for months under the belief, that 'our railways' were on the eve of being left to the mercy of the winds and rains, and the shareholders, who always seem to live under a dread of some repudiation as to the interest of their money, are cheered by Mr. Danvers' able statement, breathe freely, and wonder, why the public do not rush to the Stock Exchange and buy their shares for double their real value, that value being just what they will fetch. We open the report and turn twenty-eight pages over, one after the other, and feel dazzled at the mass of figures, met with at every page. Each paragraph seems to lead to another, of greater interest. Thousands of pounds and millions of rupees are talked about in a manner that, at first, seems reckless, but, which upon mature consideration, may be seen to lead to real knowledge of our financial state in reference to railways. We are early informed, that at last, Government at Home has stopped the guarantee system, and liberally paid the Oude Railway Company £12,166 0s. 5d, *with interest*, and we hope in exchange, something has been given to Government that may turn up to the advantage, of the *local* Oude Railway Company. Then we find, notwithstanding Sir C. Wood's statement in the House of Commons, the intentions of the Government of India, have been carried out, and the following important lines are abandoned, or more mildly putting it, postponed.

These are the lines, from

Allahabad to Jubbulpore	...	...	...	...	227
Delhi to Lahore	...	...	...	...	240
Sholapore to Bellary	...	...	...	...	183
					<hr/>
Total miles postponed	...	...	...	...	650
					<hr/>

We are consoled however by being told that 'the extent of line 'now in course of execution is 2,934½ miles, of which 1,353½ miles 'will probably be opened during the present year. In 1862 'almost all the rest will, it is expected, be finished, including the 'great trunk line from Calcutta to Delhi.' All we can say in reference to this bright picture is, it is a consummation most devoutly to be wished for. We have our misgivings. Even Mr. Danvers in para. 10, honestly states that 'some very formidable 'works have yet to be finished, which necessarily involve risk of 'delay.'

The advantage of Indian Railways to England is clear, from the statement in para 12, that during the past year 234,710 tons of materials, costing £2,140,703 were despatched to this country. Add to this the enormous sum of £36,015 as pay of Directors and Engineers *in England*, and we have £2,176,718; but if we turn to page 10 we find 'amount expended by Railway Companies 'in England, between 1st of May 1860 and 30th April 1861, '£2,425,478,' so that we have the large sum of £248,760 unaccounted for. The particulars would stand as in Table I at page 392.

Now we are not prepared for a moment to assume, that these enormous unaccounted for sums, have been spent by the Directors and their friends in dinners at Greenwich and Blackwall, but some explanation is required. Notwithstanding the statement of Mr. Danvers that 354,317£ stood 'to credit of Companies 30th April 1861 (partly estimated)' that gentleman's own figures on the same page show that the Railway Companies, were £236,098 behind the world. Thus:

Amount to credit of Companies 30 April 1860—	2,212,406	
Amount raised up to 30 April 1861...	5,841,974	
		8,054,380
Per Contra. Expended in England ...	2,425,478	
— in India ...	4,129,872	
— in India (by estimate) ...	1,735,128	
		8,290,478
Deficiency—		236,098
Add advance par. 22 from Gov.—		682,000
		£ 918,098
Due from Railway Companies 30th April 1861		

The unaccounted expenditure in England, has curious features about it. The Punjab Company procures 24,106 Tons while the East India Company has 56,448 Tons of materials, and yet, the unaccounted for expenditure is relatively £55,819 against

TABLE I.

RAILWAY COMPANY.	Value of Material.	House and Engi- neering in England.		Total.		Expended in England.		Not accounted for in Report.	
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
East Indian, ...	580,357 0 0	7,800 0 0	588,387 0 0	636,101 0 0	47,714 0 0				
Madras, ...	296,842 0 0	4,600 0 0	801,442 0 0	334,580 0 0	33,148 0 0				
Great Indian Peninsula, Bombay and Baroda,	236,364 12 0	4,750 0 0	241,114 0 0	340,997 0 0	99,883 0 0				
Scinde, ...	335,667 12 3	5,115 0 0	340,782 12 3	344,991 0 0	4,208 7 9				
Punjab, ...	26,582 6 3	2,200 0 0	28,782 6 3	33,918 0 0	5,135 13 9				
Indus Steam Flotilla,	241,210 11 5	2,200 0 0	242,410 11 5	298,230 0 0	55,819 7 7				
Great Southern of India,	17,215 0 2	1,000 0 0	18,215 0 2	26,085 0 0	7,869 19 10				
Calcutta and South Eastern, ...	118,573 16 1	3,000 0 0	121,573 16 1	120,867 0 0	8,293 3 11				
Eastern Bengal, ...	74,174 4 4	2,100 0 0	76,274 4 4	42,267 0 0	34,007 4 4*				
	213,680 0 0	3,250 0 0	216,930 0 0	238,432 0 0	21,496 0 0				
Totals	2,140,703 2 6	36,015 0 0	2,176,718 2 6	2,425,478 0 0	317,574 17 2				

\* This is curious, as the expenditure for material is much in excess of the total statement.



£47,714, and more strange still, the Great Indian Peninsula has only 25,971 Tons and its unexplained expenditure is nearly £100,000. The Bombay and Baroda having purchased 32,980 Tons, has only £4,208 unaccounted for. We are quite unable to explain, and must leave to the ingenuity of our readers the solution of these discrepancies. It is a curious question to ask, if the progress be made in the Indian Railway System, that is contemplated for 1861-62 1862-63, what is to become of the English establishments now costing nearly £40,000 per annum? It has been said, that in olden times, Railway Directors turned cab-drivers. A note of warning has evidently been sounded, for we read that a reduction of £500 has been made. When once a line is opened in this Country, what is wanted with Boards of Directors and consulting Engineers? and if in 1864-65 the expenditure of all the Companies in England will only amount to £100,000, the establishment at their present rate would cost 30 per cent. The Directors may try and keep alive the idea of their being required for extensions, but if we mistake not, the guarantee system has exhausted itself. It has moreover worked so badly in many ways, that in India it has few friends; as may be seen by the fact, that out of the £35,000,000 raised for Indian Railways, only £669,000 has been subscribed in India, and of that, we may say, not a tenth is by native Capitalists. So far as the majority of the Railway Officers in India are concerned, we believe they are indifferent as to whether they serve a Company or Government. We know of some good men of the Engineer Staff having endeavoured to obtain an exchange to the Public Works Department; as for non-professional men, they care for little beside their monthly stipends. We may state here, that the amount of capital which it has been thought prudent not to subscribe for abandoned lines, is £7,500,000 We give in page 394 a statement showing the Estimated Expenditure on Railways during the year 1861—1862 in England and in India. This statement gives us some information that may be new even to the highest authorities in India. It explains the sums advanced by Government to various Companies who were unable to raise funds. The account stands thus:—

	£
Madras      ...      ...      ...      ...	250,000
Scinde      ...      ...      ...      ...	48,000
Bombay and Baroda      ...      ...	364,000
Calcutta and South Eastern      ...      ...	20,000
<hr/>	
Total	682,000

TABLE II.

RAILWAY COMPANY.	AMOUNTS WHICH IT IS ESTIMATED IN INDIA WILL BE ADVANCED BY GOVERNMENT.		Amount required for England.	Total.	BALANCES PARTLY ESTIMATED ON THE 30TH APRIL 1861.		Amount which can be raised by calls.	Amount to be raised by Companies or lent by the Government.
	Rupees.	Amounts debited to the Railway companies in Pounds.			To the credit of the Companies.	To the debit of the Companies.		
East Indian Bengal, ...	20,000,000	1,833,333	414,650	3,055,841	225,000	...	36,000	2,794,841
North Western Provinces, ...	8,813,000	807,858						
Madras, ...	7,626,000	699,050	410,743	1,109,793	...	250,000	Nil	1,359,793
Great Indian Peninsula, ...	13,600,000	1,246,665	407,000	1,662,832	369,000	...	800,000	482,832
Scinde, ...	1,950,000	178,750	38,200	211,950	...	48,000	Nil	259,950
Indus Flotilla, ...	700,000	64,166	26,000	90,583	8,500	...	Nil	82,083
Punjaub, ...	2,405,212	220,477	121,200	341,677	350,000	...	350,000	Nil
Bombay and Baroda, ...	5,400,000	495,000	100,000	595,000	...	364,000	25,700	933,300
Eastern Bengal, ...	4,400,000	403,333	168,316	571,649	72,000	...	124,000	357,649
Calcutta and South Eastern, ...	1,000,000	91,666	28,800	124,633	...	20,000	Nil	144,633
Great Southern of India, ...	1,285,000	117,791	23,267	141,058	4,000	...	25,000	112,058
Total ...	67,179,212	6,158,089	1,788,176	7,905,016	1,028,500	682,000	1,360,700	6,546,139

This £682,000 was advanced out of the loan of three millions, borrowed at the close of the last session of Parliament for the Railways, so that there must have been a balance of £2,318,000, which, with the five millions now borrowed, leaves at the disposal of Government £7,318,000; and as the total expenditure anticipated during 1861-62 is £8,000,000 the Companies need only raise £682,000; but we anticipate some of the Companies will try to raise their own funds, and will probably succeed to the following extent.

Company	By Calls	By Debentures
East Indian ... ..	36,000	2,794,841
Great Indian Peninsula ...	800,000	483,832
Eastern Bengal ... ..	124,000	357,649
Southern of India ... ..	25,000	112,058
Punjaub ... ..	350,000	0
	<hr/> 1,335,000	<hr/> 3,748,380
		<hr/> 1,335,000
Total that will be raised by Railway Companies. }		<hr/> 5,083,380

We do not think we are too sanguine in anticipating that this amount will be obtained: perhaps the East Indian, may require a short loan, to enable them to make their financial arrangements; but Glynn & Co., Prescott & Co., Bevan & Co., Smith, Payne & Co. and several other large banks are known to have large accumulations of Indian Bond interest, belonging to their constituents, which will find investment in the East Indian Line. With this contemplated assistance, Government will only have to supply £2,916,620 out of the £7,318,000 which we have clearly shown, is now unappropriated, leaving a balance of £4,401,380; and with Mr. Laing's financial statement, showing our income equal to our expenditure, what use, we would ask, is to be made of this most useful sum of money? It has long been the wish of the Government of India to make its own Railways, and it would appear that some of this money might at once be applied for the purpose. Some tramways in Calcutta, some railroads in Oude and Rohilcund have long been under consideration, some systematic net-work of metalled roads, and notwithstanding the bountiful supply of rain with which we have this season been blessed, special irrigation works might be assisted. At least, we hope Government will use the money for the country's good.



We have pointed out some very extraordinary things in Mr. Danvers' report, which require explanation, and, no doubt, they will be attended to; but we are certain that the Secretary is fully justified in taking the cheering view he does of our future in reference to Railways. Some Companies indeed are helplessly insolvent, particularly the Madras, and the Bombay and Baroda, and perhaps some lines, when opened, will cause great disappointment, and give rise to a line of action little expected at present. Yet our Railway system must be extended and there appears little doubt the English Parliament will be glad to assist us if necessary. One most serious matter to the Government and the Shareholders is the Guaranteed Interest, and we confess we were rather startled at the statement, showing the amount of Guaranteed Interest paid to the Railway Companies up to the 31st December last. We can conceive nothing, more likely to give confidence to Shareholders than such a statement, and we are much obliged to Mr. Danvers for his concise compilation, which we here give in Table III.

TABLE III.

COMPANIES.	Interest paid to 31st Dec. 1859; England and India.	INTEREST PAID IN 1860.			Total amount of interest paid to 31st December 1860.
		England.	India.	Total.	
	£	£	£	£	£
East Indian, ... ..	2,069,189	666,870	...	666,870	2,736,059
Eastern Bengal, ... ..	29,841	25,703	...	25,703	55,544
Calcutta and South Eastern,	5,320	8,722	...	8,722	14,042
Madras, ... ..	563,116	214,976	...	214,976	778,092
Great Southern of India,...	5,466	13,703	...	13,703	19,169
Great Indian Peninsula, ...	909,471	289,747	8,610	298,357	1,207,828
Bombay and Baroda, ...	137,970	93,966	476	94,442	232,412
Scinde, ... ..	105,450	53,469	501	53,970	159,420
Punjab, ... ..	40,223	33,180	...	33,180	73,403
Indus Steam Flotilla, ...	11,171	12,569	...	12,569	33,740
Totals	3,877,217	1,412,905	9,587	1,422,492	5,299,709

The annual earnings of the Railways, on the 30th June 1860 amounted to about £318,310. Those for the year ending 30th June next, may probably amount to £400,000 which will be set off against the sum to be paid by Government for the guarantee. The Report also gives the number of Shareholders of Indian Railway Stock as 17,118 in 1860, while the year before, the number of Shareholders was 15,224, so that there has been an increase of one thousand eight hundred and ninety four, 538 among the larger, that is, those holding more than the value of £1,000, and 1,356 among the smaller proprietors holding less than £1,000. The share capital, in the same period, had increased from £22,920,000 to £25,887,057.

Having taken this hasty review of the financial position of the Railway Companies, as laid down by Mr. Danvers, we will turn to the "Traffic" operations of the three Companies; viz, East Indian, Great Indian Peninsula and Madras. Without particularizing the traffic of each line, we will content ourselves by giving the 'Statements,' relating to the combined traffic of the three Railways, which will be found in pp. 398, 399 and 400.

We make no apology for giving these 'Statements,' as their value, is undoubted, and they are not obtainable in this country, they lead us also to a real knowledge of the steady advancement of the Railway System. It is pleasant to observe how every thing is on the increase. While, however, the three main lines give us hopes of future well-doing, the Home Secretary honestly gives us a picture less promising, in the details of the Bombay and Baroda Line, where upon 29 miles, which cost about £500,000 the traffic of twenty one weeks produced £609 19s profit or about £1508 per annum instead of 25,000£. But, in this case, as in all others, where the features of the calculation may be very disheartening, Mr. Danvers comes forward with some encouraging explanation, and he says.

'In February last, 29 miles of the Bombay and Baroda Railway were opened for traffic, but, inasmuch as both ends of the line terminated on the opposite sides of the rivers to the towns which the Railway is to connect, the traffic was commenced under very disadvantageous circumstances, and was confined almost entirely to passenger traffic. The results, therefore, can form no criterion of what the traffic will be when the Railway is carried across the Taptee and Nurbudda Rivers. The Bridge over the former is now completed, and trains are running over it. The latter will, it is expected, be in the same position in June next'—In reference to the ratio of working expences to receipts on the East Indian Line, we learn the

## STATEMENT No. 1.

*Statement showing the General Traffic Operations of the three Railways combined, for the years 1859-1860.*

Year ending 30th June.	Miles open.	RAILWAY.	NUMBER OF PASSENGERS.				Receipts from Passengers.	Receipts from Merchandize.	Receipts for Railway Materials.	Total.	Working Expenses.	Net Profits.
			1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.	Total.	£	£	£	£	£	£
1860	723 { 289 East Indian, ... 297 Great Indian Peninsula, ... 137 Madras, ...		33,792	254,212	3,549,324	3,837,324	226,841	296,661	62,825	586,328	283,148	303,180
1859	432 { 142 East Indian, ... 194 Great Indian Peninsula, ... 96 Madras, ...		28,973	176,826	2,516,583	2,722,382	157,431	168,285	56,709	382,425	187,065	195,360
		Increase of year 1860 over year 1859	4,819	77,386	1,032,737	1,114,942	69,410	128,376	6,116	203,903	96,083	107,820



## STATEMENT No. 2.

*Statement showing the number of Passengers per mile in the three Railways ; during the years ending 30th June 1859 and 1860.*

Year ending.	On the East Indian.	On the Great Indian Peninsula.	On the Madras.	Average on the Three Lines.
30th June 1860	10,883	4,359	5,897	7,044
„ 1859	9,661	5,987	3,009	6,533

## STATEMENT No. 3.

*Statement showing the Proportion per cent. of Passengers, contributed per mile by each of the three companies, during the years 30th June 1859 and 1860.*

Year ending.	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.
30th June 1860 ...	49·9	20·0	30·1
„ 1859 ...	48·6	41·2	10·2

## STATEMENT No. 4.

*Statement showing the Proportion per cent. of Passengers conveyed in each class ; by the three companies combined, during the years 1859 and 1860.*

Year ending.	1st class.	2nd class.	3rd class.
30th June 1860 ...	0·8	6·4	92·8
„ 1859 ...	1·2	6·2	92·6

## STATEMENT No. 5.

*Statement showing the Total Receipts, Working Expenses, and Net Profits of the three Railways for the years 1858-59 and 1859-60.*

YEAR ENDING.	RECEIPTS FROM PASSENGERS.			RECEIPTS FROM MERCHANDISE.			RECEIPTS FOR RAILWAY MATERIALS.			
	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total.	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Total Receipts.
30th June 1860...	£ 118,647	£ 72,747	£ 35,448	£ 226,842	£ 174,881	£ 81,267	£ 40,513	£ 296,661	£ 25,207	£ 586,328
" 1859...	73,947	60,785	22,299	157,031	71,980	57,079	39,226	168,285	21,525	382,425
Increase of year 1860 over year 1859.	44,500	11,962	13,149	69,811	102,901	24,188	1,287	128,376	3,742	203,903
									1904 less than in 1859	

*Working Expenses.*

Year ending	East Indian.	Great Indian Peninsula.	Madras.	Total working Expenses.	Total Profits.
30th June 1860	£ 146,636	£ 106,796	£ 29,716	£ 283,148	£ 303,180
" 1859	103,616	65,491	17,958	187,065	195,360
Increase of year 1860 over year 1859	43,020	41,305	11,758	96,083	107,820

curious fact, that that ratio was lowest in 1857, the year of the mutiny ; it has since risen to more than it was in 1856. The Directors of the Great Indian Peninsula do not give so elaborate a statement, contenting themselves with saying that the ratio in 1859 was 58.3 and in 1860 it was 60.5. The Madras likewise represents the ratio in 1859 as 53.5 and in 1860 as 58.7. Whatever may be the bad features of any particular case, or whatever general cause of mistrust there may be, in the Home Secretary's Report, may be found some healing hope and comfort, to encourage all to look forward to a happy consummation. In reference to the "General Traffic results" he says.

'Although these statements exhibit satisfactory results as regards increased traffic, and indicate an improved policy with respect to the regulation of fares and the adaptation of the Railways to the peculiar circumstances of the country, their remunerative powers cannot safely be determined until the lines are completed from end to end, and are in fair working order. The East Indian may be taken as an example. Calculations have hitherto been made on the assumption that the cost would be about £12,000 a mile, but it is now estimated that it will be upwards of £16,000 a mile ; so that, instead of a revenue of £802,950, to produce a profit of five per cent, there must be a revenue of £1,100,000. Judgment must, accordingly, be suspended until all the materials for calculation are attainable. But adverting to the increase of traffic that has already taken place on the broken sections of line which have been opened from time to time, and to the average amount of working expences, which will probably be further gradually reduced by the employment of native skill and labor, and by the use of native fuel, there is good ground for the hope that the increase in the original estimate of their cost will not prevent them from being remunerative.'

Captain Stanton, consulting Engineer to the Government of Bengal enables Mr. Danvers and ourselves to state, 'that out of 3,112,500 passengers, five have been killed. One, on the East Indian, was a syce in charge of Government Horses, who, sitting in a dangerous position, was knocked off the carriage, and received injuries which caused his death. The other four were travelling on the Great Indian Peninsula, when five carriages were thrown off the line in consequence of a bridge giving way.' Considering the difficulties to be overcome in organizing an efficient traffic management, we think the result most satisfactory and commendable ; the result bears comparison, to its advantage, with the earlier days of Railway management in England. From an old number of the *Quarterly Review*, we find 'that



'within the year 1843, seventy railroads, constructed at an outlay of £60,000,000 have conveyed 25,000,000 passengers 330,000,000 miles, at the average cost of  $1\frac{1}{4}d$  a mile and with but one fatal passenger accident'—But by this calculation each passenger need only have travelled 10 miles, or a little more, and though we have not the united train run of the Indian Lines placed before us, we are, from our knowledge, entitled to assume, that each passenger on an average travels half the length of any line he proceeds upon, and so we find 3,112,500 passengers travelled 1,123,612,500 miles, and assuming, as in England, there had been 25,000,000 passengers, they would have travelled more than 9,000,000,000 miles and would have admitted of upwards of 30 deaths, while five deaths for the distance, run only just exceeds the result in the early days of Railway travelling in England.—To draw a comparison of the number of passengers 'killed and injured' in the Indian and English Series without a statement of the miles run, seems unfair in the extreme, for the greater number of miles passed over by the passengers must increase the risk. Mr. Danvers informs us that the average number of passengers on Lines in great Britain is 139,000,000 and the proportion of killed and injured is

	Killed	Injured
In India... ..	1.28.	1.92.
In England... ..	0.15.	3.19.

Now, if the increase of mileage in England since 1843, is equal to the increase of passengers, we should have to multiply the miles run rather more than five times which would give 1,650,000,000 miles run, against 1,123,612,500 in India. Such calculation is very suggestive during the early stages of our Railway System.

Our space warns us, that though the subject of 'Our Railways' is one of momentous consequence, we must draw our remarks to a close, but before doing so would echo the praise, most justly given from home through Mr. Danvers' report to all those who have labored in this country. Lord Canning has done justice to the East Indian Railway Engineers, in his letter to Sir Charles Wood, found reprinted in the Report under notice. That mistakes have been made, there is no question, but how could many of them have been avoided? We have stations built in the North West Provinces, that would make fit palaces for the Governor General, and who are they for? For the 1,500,000 passengers whose pride is to be half naked, but who are favored with these luxuries, we presume, to induce them to improve a little upon their domestic architecture. No one is to blame, it is

the system. A favorite assistant of the late lamented Mr. Brunel finds himself called upon to design a station for some important town the emporium of a large and recently acquired province ; he is supposed to be checked (or whatever other term best explains the position of a Government consulting Engineer) by an Officer of the Bengal Engineers, who is acknowledged to be one of the best judges of architecture in the Corps ; and it would be a disgrace to them both, considering they had besides the assistance of an architect of repute, if they did not rear a building that is the wonder and admiration of thousands of the staring half naked natives. Mr. Berkely of the Great Indian Peninsula, whose early efforts to popularize the Railway in the columns of the "*Bombay Quarterly*," must be fresh in the minds of many Indian readers, receives also deserved praise. An elaborate paper by this gentleman is largely quoted in the Appendix of Mr. Danvers' Report, in which his name and ill health, are identified with the ascents of the Bhore and Thulghaut inclines. The Agent and Manager of the Madras Railway also contributes a paper upon the supply of Engine Drivers and other skilled officials who are very scarce and whose duties it is by no means easy to teach. But yet all the difficulties that have accompanied the introduction of Railways in India, will, we doubt not, be overcome and the country benefitted by the results. Large, expensive stations have been built, which perhaps are unnecessary, but let us hope as a recompence, some stations will have to be enlarged to accommodate unexpected traffic. Bridges have fallen down, which were built by Railway Engineers, as bridges have fallen down built by others, but they are built up again, and in the end, we hope, all will be right. The system of guaranteed interest and the control consequent upon it, has been unpopular with both parties to the contract, and it may be a happy circumstance, that it is virtually at an end. Judging from what we now see put forth by the Home Government, the loaves and fishes, have been plentiful to the Railway Employés in England, while constant complaints are made of the want of generosity to the members of the scientific staff in this country. It was supposed that the Railway service in India was a lucrative one ; we are now certain, had the same men come out to India to make Railways for the Government, their positions would have been more popular and still more lucrative. We know men who have served Companies for seven years, without a day's absence from their most arduous duties, and yet have received notice of dismissal with less compliment or thanks from the Company they have served,

than would be given to a common but faithful underling. This would never have been the case had it been a Government service.

The report we have had under consideration is the production of Mr. Juland Danvers, Secretary, Railway Department; but it may tend to explain matters, if we relate that there is in connection with the Railways an ex-officio Director and that this post was held from the commencing of the Railways, by Sir James Cosmo Melvill, the news of whose death has lately reached us. It was first held by him, when Secretary to the late Court of Directors and after his retirement from that office, it was still considered of importance to Government interests that he should retain his position on behalf of Government towards the companies. So that though to Mr. Danvers, is due our thanks, for his most interesting and able contribution to our meagre stock of information connected with our Railways, we must not forget the able gentleman who long held the appointment, which commands and organizes the information. Mr. Danvers has succeeded Sir James Melvill and we can only hope, that we shall not on this account be deprived of our annual Report.

Let us observe in conclusion that while complaints are general, that if Government does not do some thing to assist the Railways by making roads, their full benefit can never be secured, we can say as truly that if the Indian Government do not make their own Railways, in extension of those at present under construction, they must expect their revenue materially to suffer. We extract the following timely warning from the report that has afforded us so much interest and will amply repay all, who obtain it for perusal.

‘The interest alike of the Government, of the Railway Companies, and of the public, would be sacrificed by the suspension of operations in the present condition of the lines. Not only would a large outlay remain unprofitable, but positive loss would be incurred by the damage to, and even destruction of, unfinished works, if left to the mercy of the elements in a tropical climate. Never was there a time more pregnant than the present with proofs of the necessity for a sure and permanent system of internal communication in India. Whether we look to the lamentable accounts of the famine, now desolating the North-West Provinces, or to the anxiety with which passing events in America are being watched by our manufacturers, and to the temporary and necessarily imperfect measures which are being taken by the Local Governments to aid the transport of Indian Cotton to this country, or whether adverting to the large European force now destined to garrison the country, we consider the



‘safety, ease and economy which would be secured by the conveyance of troops by Railway, the early completion of the main lines which have been sanctioned appears to be a matter of paramount importance, and to admit of no delay.’

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## CRITICAL NOTICES

OF

WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST.

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*A Grammar of the Pukhto, Pushto, or Language of the Afghans.*  
By Captain H. G. Raverty, 3rd Regt. B. N. I. Second Edition,  
Hertford: Stephen Austin. 1860.

'Beauty' the poet tells us, 'is not, as fond men misdeem, An outward show of things that only seem.' That is, to put it prosaically, though a handsome face and a fine figure never fail to make a good impression, if the lady, on closer acquaintance, should be found to make havoc of her h's, to be very bad tempered, and to believe in Joe Smith and spiritual rappings, our feeling of resentment will probably be greater than if she had less attractions. If any thing could bribe one to study Pushto, it ought to be the exquisite manner in which the volume named in the margin has been got up. The whitest paper, the blackest ink, leaded types, careful printing, a generous margin, are points of almost irresistible charm, and contribute their full share in keeping up the well-deserved fame of Stephen Austin's printing office. But on examining the volume we are deterred from giving ourselves to Pushto by the author's sad experiences. He says, 'After having devoted seventeen of 'the best years of my life, and expended much money in acquiring, *more or less*, a knowledge of nine Oriental languages, I find that the pursuit has never 'brought me advantage or advancement.' The Punjab Government, it appears, kept the meritorious author down. A thousand pities. But he knows how to requite good for evil. He is convinced that the Kabul disasters were due to the non-existence of his Grammar, and is quite certain that any future complications in that quarter will readily be obviated, or at least mitigated through his labours. He hastens therefore to present us with his books, as Dost Mohamed, he informs us, may die any day. Thanks!

But a gift may be unacceptable; it may be worthless. Is Capt. Raverty competent, with all his devotedness, to teach us Pushto? He introduces himself to the public quite freely, somewhat like the great Mulligan, Mr. Titmarsh's friend. He gives us, in his copious prefaces and introductions, written not in Pushto, but in plain, though not very good, English, an insight into his mind, talents, and abilities. A grammarian should above all possess the analytical faculty, a faculty closely allied to the logical faculty. This he is glaringly destitute of. Let us take a few examples at random. He wishes to prove, for instance, that the Afghans are 'the lost tribes of the house of Israel;' and he does prove, to almost every body's satisfaction, that they *claim* to be of the tribe of Benjamin, not one of the 'Lost Tribes' at all. He sets out to prove that Pushto does not belong to the 'Indo-Teutonic' family of languages, and the first argument he uses is that it contains a great number of Zend, Pehlevi, and Persian words and that it bears a great similarity to the



modern Persian, all these being 'Indo-Teutonic' languages. He says that 'the Pushto pronouns bear no similarity whatever with those of the Sanskrit family,' as the reader will at once see.

	Sanskrit.	Zend.	Greek.	Latin.	Slavonic.	German.	English.	Pushto.
First person,	ma.	ma.	me.	me.	mja.	mich.	me.	mi.
Second person,	twa.	thwa.	te.	te.	tja.	dich.	thee.	te or di;

And even in the third person, which is usually more difficult to recognize, *de* in the nominative, philologists will at once recognize as identical with the Greek, German, and English article; and *ye*, the oblique case, as the Prakrit and Latin *se*, and the Zend, Greek, and English *he*.

But then, a man need not be a logician after all, nor even a philologist to teach us a language which he knows: and Captain Raverty tells us that Pushto is not difficult. Why then does the grammar extend to 200 quarto pages? It ought to be very knotty and crabbed indeed to require or even justify such an unreasonable length. We fear we must be plain. The book is an imposition. It smells of Grub Street from beginning to end. It has very little to recommend it to a *bonâ fide* learner. Capt. Raverty in his prospectus solicited subscriptions for his works on the ground that they would be 'curiosities in literature.' He has kept his word; the grammar certainly will establish his character for veracity. But it is destitute of every element that could make it useful to an inquirer. Its facts are false, its rules are incorrect, its method is utterly at fault, and system it has none.

It is not that the author is ignorant of Pushto. On the contrary, considering the disadvantages of his position, for out of the 'seventeen years' he did not spend one on the Afghan frontier, his knowledge of the language is very great; the mere collection of his illustrative examples betokening a variety of reading which is astonishing. But partly from the absence of original training, and perhaps more from the vast display and parade got up to hide, if possible, the original defect, the grammarian has made a decided *fiasco*. The way in which he uses grammatical terms, sometimes Arabic, sometimes English, reminds one very much of a child playing with edged tools; he has but a dim preception of their real use, and the looker on becomes quite nervous, lest the man should cut himself; and he does cut himself. He speaks of conditional and optative *tenses*; he has a thing he calls *Future Indefinite*, of which it is hard to tell, what it is; he sports an *Aorist*, which on inspection turns out to be the Subjunctive Mood; he has a 'noun of fitness,' which common people would call a Gerund; 'I should do' he calls the future; he recognizes two Forms of the Imperative, but has no idea that the one is the present Imperative, and the other the Aorist Imperative; the verbal noun (it is really the old Infinitive, and usually ends in *an* or *ana*, as one might expect from a comparison of the Sanskrit, Hindi, Greek, Persian, and German languages, though one of Capt. Raverty's great arguments is that there is no similarity between the Infinitives of these languages) his verbal *noun* he call the Present Participle. There is a startling announcement (p. 48) that certain three prepositions are used as demonstrative pronouns. Certainly Pushto must be a difficult language, if prepositions perform such antics. But in vindication of Pushto we must state that it is the grammarian who performs the surprising feats, not the harmless parts of speech. This statement is equivalent to saying that the German prepositions *von*, *an*, are used as articles when

they are spelt *vom*, *am*, or that the French preposition *de* stands for a demonstrative pronoun when it is written *da*. Capt. Raverty does not see that the insignificant vowel mark, which he is obliged to put after his curious prepositions, is the pronoun, and that the preposition remains a preposition.

His English style is so bad that his rules are mostly unintelligible. He repeatedly says, 'thou becometh' 'thou seizeth' and the like; he constantly mentions 'words with prepositions and postpositions' 'prefixed;' the latter seems to be quite an easy operation with him; he speaks of 'extrinsic friends;' he obtains, 'assistance from the *potentiality* of the spirit;' he says 'after having explained the past tense so fully, the imperfect is easily described.' And when his rules are intelligible, they are sure to be wrong, or, at least, misleading to one who simply seeks instruction. Sometimes the example he adduces, refutes his rule, as in Sec. 90, and many other places. And then his radically incorrect views about pronouns, and his inability to understand the construction of the past tenses, vitiate almost every page. How little he understands the structure of the Pushto sentence, may be inferred from the principal rule which he gives on the subject (p. 108). 'The object must be in the nominative, and sometimes in the dative (!) and the agent in the instrumental case.' That is odd. The nominative is the object, and the agent is the instrumental; then where in the world is the subject? Even Capt. Raverty would find it difficult to construct a sentence without a subject. A very large part of the volume, more than a hundred pages, is taken up with so called rules for the formation of the tenses, which are totally useless, as after telling how many different methods there are of forming a certain tense—if the word 'method' can be properly applied to any thing in this book—he does not in a single instance give a list of the verbs belonging to any one of his classes, nor does he ever point out a mark by which they are to be recognized. Indeed, he has no less than *thirty-seven* conjugations. This is simply mocking the poor inquirer who comes to him for advice. Classification is confessedly a difficult subject, but if Capt. Raverty had no more power of generalization than is manifested in his leaving the Pushto verb in an anarchy of thirty-seven divisions, he should not have usurped the dictatorship; *aut Caesar aut nullus*; he is evidently not Caesar. He does not even tell the reader always that the verb, which he gives as an example in one or another of his conjugations, is the only one of the kind. The same may be said of a subsequent chapter, that on the derivation of words, in which the value of his rules and the sinful waste of good paper may be seen at a glance. He states lucidly, 'Abstract nouns may be obtained from adjectives, in eight different ways; and then he enumerates them. But it so happens that besides the single example which is given under the head of the first four rules, there is not another adjective in the language which forms its abstract in the way indicated; of what use then are these four rules? A little reflection, moreover, would convince any one that even the alleged derivation is purely imaginary. He goes on, in the same chapter: 'VI. This form is *something* similar to the fourth' Why? By rule IV. *tor* 'black' formed *tyárá* 'darkness, and by rule VI. *tor* 'black' forms *torwále* 'blackness.' Striking similarity; very much like Sambo and Pompey, who were very much like each other, especially Sambo.

The oblique cases of the personal pronouns bother the author very much; he has made the discovery that 'they have no meaning separate from the verbs,' which is a pure absurdity, if it means anything, an oblique case of anything implying something upon which the case depends. Then he has what he calls 'affixed personal pronouns,' and refers to the Arabic and Persian as analogous. A pronoun which is *affixed* (as is the case in the Semitic languages) implies that the word to which it is affixed is a word without

this affix; but on separating Capt. Raverty's 'affixed pronouns' from the words which he adduces as examples, the latter cease to be words altogether. The fact is that he mistakes the common personal terminations of the verb for pronouns; he virtually calls the terminations, for instance, *am*, *as*, *at*, in the Latin *agam*, *agas*, *agat*, 'affixed personal pronouns.' There is no doubt that these terminations were pronouns originally, as philology has proved long ago, but our gallant author is so totally innocent of anything like philology, that he can hardly even be presumed to have blundered into the truth by mistake; besides that the enunciation of a theoretical truth like this would be out of place here. The mistake is probably the most serious in the whole production, as it destroys whatever value the bare paradigms of the transitive verbs might have had. Whole pages are utterly ruined by this sad botchery. And the matter is so vital that this baneful error alone is sufficient to damn the book. What would be said of a Latin grammar that went on conjugating page after page *a me laudatur*, *a te laudatur*, *ab eo laudatur*, and did not give the smallest hint of the existence of the forms *laudor*, *laudaris*, *laudamur*, *laudamini*, and so throughout all the tenses? This is precisely what the ingenious author has done.

The principal value of this grammar might be supposed to consist in its copious illustration by examples taken from a considerable range of authors. And Capt. Raverty certainly deserves the highest credit for the industry and perseverance with which he has collected this store of material. Our admiration, however, would be more unalloyed, if we were sure that the author thought the examples necessary for the explanation of his doctrines, and if there were no ground for believing that they were collected rather for book-making purposes. The examples themselves would not create this suspicion so much as the manner in which they have been translated. In a grammar, bare, bald, literal translation is all that is required, but that is essential. Ornament would not only not be expected, but would be utterly unsuitable, and would materially impair the usefulness of the work. Capt. Raverty has permitted himself to be carried away by an inconsiderate vanity, and has wretchedly marred the best, almost the only good, feature of his production. The student will often get more assistance from an unadorned, faithful translation than even from the best rules; hence in Capt. Raverty's grammar such translation would have been of tenfold value; but what is the perplexed inquirer to do, when, instead of literal rendering of word for word, he finds most nauseously diluted paraphrases, got up quite regardless of expense, which however are of no use to any one except to the grammarian, who no doubt each time that he had achieved one, took a step backwards, gazed at his creation with fervent admiration, put his head slightly on one side, and exclaimed, 'Isn't it pretty?' Let the reader look for instance at the first example in p. 95, with its 'Phoenix of one's desires,' and 'the immortal bird.' Or take this hemistich of five words: *If a devotee be ill*—five words also in the original; the Bombay Captain renders it in the third-rate reporter style: 'If a man in the constant habit of praying may become afflicted with sickness.' For a 'rose' he says 'queen of flowers;' for 'birds' he says 'feathered race,' for 'wine' 'juice of the grape,' and so on to an incredible extent. There is a couplet of Hamid's in p. 94 also, the literal translation of which is: 'When his justice's sun did set, the dark night of oppression rose, the land became dark;' which Capt. Raverty sweetly beautifies thus. 'Since the bright luminary of his equity and justice *hath* set, the black night of oppression *has* set in (!), and filled the land with darkness.' What is the learner, who is not supposed to have spent seventeen years on Oriental languages, to make of such elegance? He wants bread, and the grammarian gives him—not a stone, but—wind. The reader will also observe



that in the example just cited 'justice' is rendered by 'equity and justice;' on the same page he will find 'carelessness and inadvertency' where the original has only *neglect*; and so he will find throughout the book such geminous and even tergeminous renderings to the number of at least two hundred. *Cui bono*? Is it to exhibit the author's opulence of diction? such an exhibition, we fear, would be lost on the frontier officers whom Capt. Raverty expects to use his grammar. Or is it that Capt. Raverty has so little confidence in the expressiveness of his own tongue that he must use two or three words, where one has sufficed the Khatak or the Afridi? Or is it that he wishes to give the purchaser his guinea's worth of type and paper and twaddle? One might forgive this and put it down as an unavoidable idiosyncrasy of the enthusiastic hierophant of Afghan mysteries, were there not other offences in his translations less pardonable: words omitted, sentences transposed, sense distorted, with a most reckless disregard of the wants of his pupils. It is absolutely harrowing to think how some young officer of the P. I. F. at Bahadur Khel or Tak will try to beguile his solitude with a dip into this handsome volume, and will be puzzled and bewildered by the heartless cruelty of Capt. Raverty.

This notice has already become too long, so that we can give no more extracts; but some translations are so bad that they raise a doubt as to the author's knowledge of the language. In p. 72 a line reads, 'though his house or goods be spoiled;' Capt. Raverty renders, 'whether his dwellings be sacked and pillaged, or filled with wealth and goods.' There is nothing in the original to correspond to the second clause, though it is easy to see that the translator was led wrong by the position of words in the Pushto line, which is, 'though his house be spoiled, or goods'; a grievous blunder, at best. P. 111 'Like as one forgetteth a deceased person of hundred years;' the original says, 'as one forgets a person dead a hundred years.' P. 119. 'This unembellished firmament became adorned with ornaments and embellishments; which the diamonds of omnipotence and power *have carved*.' Delicious! The diamonds have probably taken the head of the table. Besides mistaking the construction, as usual, he also reads *kandile* for *gan-dile*; the proper translation of the second line is simply: 'Embroidered with the gems of his power.'—But enough.

As far as the study of Pushto is concerned, it is really to be regretted that Captain Raverty turns out a charlatan, and all his statements of fact or science must be taken *cum grano salis*. He publishes (p. viii.) to the world that it is impossible for any one on the North West Frontier to know Pushto. He is as much mistaken in this, as when he calls the Prophet's flower a violet (p. 100), or derives the name of the Pathans from an imaginary place called *Pash*, and an impossible word *tún*. There are officers from whose pen we should like very much to see a concise grammar of the language of the Afghans. We have heard Captain James deliver a long address in Pushto, which was a model of idiomatic ease and vigorous native eloquence? Colonel Lumsden is said to be second to none in his knowledge of the language; or if Colonel Vaughan could be induced to prepare a second edition of his Grammar, it would be of great assistance. As it is, we do not hesitate to pronounce Vaughan's Grammar as an introduction to Pushto far preferable to the book here noticed.

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## CRITICAL NOTICES

OF

### WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST.

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*Nemesis: a poem in four Cantos. By John Bruce Norton.*  
London: Richardson and Co.

WE claim this poem as the work of an Indian poet and recognize in it the happy style of the author of "Memories of Merton." To speak of Indian poetry, is to speak of a thing that future generations may hope to see, but which has not yet established itself as one of the things that are. Now and then, a good poem, or collection of poems, is written by one who has been some years in this country, but, as far as the subjects treated of are concerned, it might as well have been written in London by one who had never crossed the Channel. Poetry cannot flourish in the troubled atmosphere of the first phase of a nation's history. She waits for a period of healthy repose, when the sky is unclouded. Then she lifts up her voice and finds that the assemblage of hewers of wood and drawers of water, by whom her infancy was surrounded, has given way to a community of men of all occupations and tastes, among whom there are sure to be some sufficiently thoughtful and imaginative to be a fit audience.

The first comers in a new country are too busy in their contest with nature to attend to any thing else. They must fight with savages and wild beasts, cut down trees, build houses, till the ground, and struggle hard for their existence. The next generation have easier work, and the next, and the next, until at last agitation gives way to rest, that again leads to solid comfort, to which is ultimately added artistic taste. In India there has been more to subdue than external nature. The task of our ancestors and our countrymen has been to subdue mind—the mind of an intelligent and semi-civilized race of men. This is a task that will take yet many a long year to accomplish. Those who have not been directly engaged in this the great national mission, are intent upon pursuits that concern almost exclusively their own material welfare. They are strangers and sojourners in the land. Both classes are fully occupied, and neither has much leisure for poetical studies. Mr. Norton has found time amidst the distracting calls of the legal profession for the indulgence of his higher tastes. He has sent forth to the world more than one volume; thus showing that, where the poetic vein exists, it will sooner or later find its way to the surface even in a man of business. It is common to find lawyers among the contributors to magazines and newspapers, the authors of historical works, and among the merciless censors, who criticise performances which are far beyond their own powers to execute or even to appreciate; but it is comparatively seldom, that we find them among the worshippers of that muse whose devotees they find such pleasure in ridiculing. But here we have a lawyer among the poets. What the effect of his poetical aspirations may be on his practice, it is not for us to determine.

"Nemesis" is the name, which our poetical lawyer or legal poet has thought proper, to give to the poem which we are now about to notice. Regarding the



fitness of such an appellation we shall have something to say hereafter. He commences with a prologue or poetical preface. It is beyond us to imagine what possible advantage is derived from this practice. Good poets gain nothing whatever by it, and when ordinary or inferior poets resort to it, it leaves on the mind of the reader an impression of weakness in the writer.

"Not always nor on light occasion, I  
 "Seek with the crowd, nay, oft refuse, to sing,  
 "Lest weak would grow the too oft shaken string.

From such a commencement we might infer that the author is one of those gentlemen, who, though possessed of a tolerable voice, rather stringy perhaps, as the above lines would imply, yet "oft refuses to sing," under the pretence of modesty, but with the real object of enhancing the effect of his performance, when, at length, he does yield to the repeated solicitations of the eager company. These remarks apply with equal force to the lines with which the poem closes.

"Go forth my poem: thine is not the roar  
 "Of torrent or of cataract; thy flow  
 "Is like a humble streamlet, winding slow  
 "Through England's southern meadows to the shore.

These lines suggest the idea that the author contemplates, with a feeling of complete satisfaction, his finished work, a pleasure which even the highest genius is not often permitted to enjoy.

"Nemesis" consists of four cantos, written for the most part in the Spenserian stanza, over which the author exhibits considerable power. This species of verse requires no little skill to sustain, and Mr. Norton has been very successful in the use of it. In the Alexandrine at the end of each stanza, he has avoided that heaviness of diction, which so often characterizes such lines. The poem is properly speaking a novel thrown into verse. The opening scene consists of an old man and his little grand-daughter sitting together before a rustic cottage, on the banks of the Darrent. He has no relative left in the world but this girl, and he is consequently bound up in her. As she arrives at mature years, a retiring young poet, named Hubert, falls in love with her, but conceals his passion. Of Hubert we hear little more. Mabel Lee had reached her eighteenth year, when

"There came a lonely youth to dwell by Darrent's flood.

Gerald is a young man of rank and fortune, highly talented and accomplished, but tired of a life of gaiety and dissipation, and desirous of returning to his better self, by a temporary exile from the busy town, and a season of musing and roaming in the country. He has a faithful little spaniel, of the King Charles' breed, or, as the author mysteriously and somewhat periphrastically puts it,

"Pure in his downward breed from that sleek pack  
 "That erst our merry monarch used attend.

This spaniel, by rescuing Mabel's kerchief from the Darrent, becomes the medium of introduction between the youth and the maiden. Gerald makes her a present of the dog. The animal runs away next day, and of course the handsome stranger brings it back, and thus an intimacy begins to be formed. They read together, walk together, talk together; and the first canto ends with the words

—she fell.

The next canto changes the scene to the banks of the Thames. The amorous couple are living in a cottage, surrounded by all the luxuries that taste can suggest and money procure. For a time they live happily enough, but

ere long Mabel becomes conscious of her fault, Gerald grows tired of her, looks upon her as an obstacle to his mental happiness, and at last makes every effort to get rid of her.

The means to which he has recourse are the vilest that human nature is capable of. The heartless seducer becomes the fiendish tempter. He introduces a young friend to Mabel, hoping to see her fascinated by his blandishments, and thus affording him a reasonable excuse for forsaking her. But the confiding girl does not listen to the voice of the charmer. Failing in this attempt, he makes another still more dastardly. He stays away from home night after night, spending his time among riotous, dissolute companions. Sometimes he brings a party of them to his cottage to offend Mabel's ear with their coarse jokes. He finds among his comrades one willing to be an accomplice in his villainy. This friend, after the whole party have left the cottage, returns to look for his purse; he takes an undue liberty with Mabel; at that moment Gerald enters and upbraids Mabel with her conduct. He pretends to be infuriated against his accomplice, and leaves the girl he has wronged to comfort herself as best she may. Almost distracted with grief, she entertains for an instant the idea of destroying herself. Her better feelings triumph. She resolves to suffer in silence. She returns to that home on the banks of the Darrent which she had so rashly left. But it is too late. She learns that her grandfather died broken-hearted, when he heard of what Mabel had done. A boy fishing in the stream tells her the sad tale. She sits for a while on the grassy bank, and when the villagers cluster round the spot in the evening to discover her retreat, they find nothing but a dripping scarf and riband, and a spaniel wet with the waters of the Darrent.

"Whether she plunged, or if in trance she fell

"While musing on the bank, what man may judge or tell?"

The fourth canto is like the fifth act of a tragedy. Gerald repents to some extent. He goes to the mountains of Scotland to obtain comfort for his bruised spirit. He returns to his cottage on the Thames, and devotes himself to the education of his orphan boy. The boy grows up thoughtful and delicate. He dies young, and Gerald seeks to drown his sorrow in the din of battle. He joins the English army fighting against the Sikhs. In eager quest of death he performs prodigies of valour, and returns home to be knighted. He then becomes the most powerful and brilliant statesman of the day. At last the weight on his mind becomes too much for him, and his reason forsakes him. His mental faculties return for a few hours before death, and enable him to recognize in the pastor who watches his last moments, the dearest friend of his boyhood, but who had preferred the rewards of virtue to the pleasures of vice.

"Too late, dear William, as we sow, we reap—

"Mark your own course—and his—the wretch who dies."

"'Tis done; with him went down into the dust

"The titled line, whose sires had filled a throne;

"No sculptured epitaph, no marble bust,

"Points where he lies unhonour'd and alone.

"Far in a village churchyard, all unknown,

"Where o'er it weeds and two dwarf fir-trees wave,

"Just rais'd above the soil there lies a stone,

"Whose date and deep initials scarcely save

"The record for a while of lordly Gerald's grave."

Such is the outline of the story which Mr. Norton has written in the shape of a poem. We cannot help saying that it is far better suited for the columns of the *London Journal* or *Family Herald*, than for a poem which exhibits in its execution so much merit. The subject is a most gloomy and

unfortunate one. We hinted above that "Nemesis" was a bad title. We repeat it. The opening canto is beautiful in many respects, but our pleasure in its perusal is greatly diminished by the thought that the sleuth hound "Nemesis" is following on at full speed. All that is fair and beautiful in representation and diction, is marred by the thought that all is vanity and will end in death and ruin. To point a moral in the way Mr. Norton has endeavoured to do, is not the province of descriptive poetry. It belongs to dramatic poetry, and that of the highest style, to convey lessons of this kind. To understand the deepest and wildest of human passions, we must see the characters act their part before us, and study the consequences to which their acts lead. It affords little gratification to the intellect and the heart to be told, that a character did so and so, and another character something else. What would the tragedy of "Hamlet" be if thrown into the narrative style? Epic poetry affords no scope for the representation of strong passion. And when exciting incidents and strange phases of character are depicted in weak language, however elegant and harmonious, no interest is created in the mind of the reader, beyond what a deaf man would feel in looking at a scene in which he sees figures moving before him, while he is obliged to ask a bystander to tell him what they are saying. This view of the functions of narrative poetry must not be too widely applied. Sometimes a poet so combines the descriptive with the dramatic, that an entirely satisfactory picture is obtained. But even in such a case, it will be found that, for the development of the strongest passions of our nature, the dramatic form is the best.

Another error which the author has made is the attempt to depict passing, or, at all events, very recent affairs, without throwing over scenes and incidents with which we are familiar, an æsthetic and poetical veil which hides their hard outlines. As an example of how a contemporaneous event, the facts of which are familiar to us, can be artistically treated, we need only refer to Tennyson's lines on the Balaklava charge. Occasional evidences of Mr. Norton's Tennysonian predilections occur in the course of his poem; such as the lines,

"Let man victorious his dominion roll,  
 "Tided on purple billows far and wide,  
 "Time from the face of earth sweeps his controul.  
 "Love claims a sovereign sway and keeps it o'er the whole.

The parallel lines in Tennyson occur in the poem on "Love and Death," where Love says:—

"This hour is thine.  
 "Thou art the shadow of life, and as the tree  
 "Stands in the sun and shadows all beneath,  
 "So in the great light of eternity  
 "Life eminent creates the shade of death;  
 "The shadow passeth when the tree shall fall,  
 "But I shall reign for ever over all.

All we mean to shew by putting these two passages side by side is that, if our author has tried to resemble Tennyson in this instance, he has succeeded remarkably well.

Mr. Norton shews great facility in ornamenting his poem with classical allusions. The passages to which we more particularly refer are those in the first canto where the happy intercourse between Mabel and Gerald and the topics of their conversation are described. The object is to represent Gerald's attainments as very fascinating and his knowledge extensive. The allusions are sometimes indeed dragged in by the head and shoulders, and at others jumbled together in a most unintelligible manner, but the following verses will show that the author knows how to introduce them gracefully when he likes to take the pains.



" He told of her, the love-lorn maid, who leapt  
 " From the white crags of Leucas ; how by night  
 " Leander swam the straits when Sestos slept,  
 " Save she who held aloft love's guiding light :  
 " He spake of timid Arethusa's flight  
 " From swift Alpheus, when her fainting cries  
 " Diana heard, and snatched her from his sight,  
 " Under the earth to glide a stream, and rise  
 " The fairest fount that leaps beneath Sicilian skies.  
 " Psyche who ravish'd Cupid ; Thetis bound  
 " Sleeping by bold Æacides, and wed  
 " Unwilling upon Pelion ; by the sound  
 " Of Orpheus' lyre the wild-beast captive led :  
 " How dolphin-borne, betray'd Arion sped ;  
 " How Ariadne in her Cretan bower  
 " To thankless Theseus gave the labyrinth-thread ;  
 " Pygmalion too, who felt a statue's power ;  
 " And Danaë woo'd and won by Jove in golden shower.

Our space is nearly exhausted, but we cannot conclude without drawing attention to a poem called "Alix de Choiseul," which is introduced at the end of the second canto. This poem is perhaps the gem of the book, and shows that, if Mr. Norton were to devote himself to poetry of that class, he would attain much greater success than by any metrical and didactic rendering of a common-place love story. The poem in question represents a knight, Raynard de Choiseul, as the husband of Alix, a lady of the highest rank in the Court of France. Valeran de Corbie, whose affection for Alix was unreturned, gratifies his revenge by slandering Alix in the absence of her husband. The cause is tried in the lists according to the rules of chivalry. The knights appear with vizors down, Valeran in black armour, and his opponent in silver, with a silver shield bearing the device of a single broken lily by a tomb, and the motto "Je meurs." The knight of the silver armour unseats Valeran, and, with the sword point at his brow, makes him retract his slanderous statements.

" Yes, I do own me, it was baffled rage  
 " That made me falsely blacken the fair fame  
 " Of Alix, whom I lov'd from tenderest age ;  
 " Her to the peers of France do I proclaim  
 " O'er all most loyal wife, and spotless dame ;  
 " Know Raynard it is baffled rage which now  
 " Prompts this my dying deed, e'en when my shame  
 " Clips like a thorny crown my burning brow ;  
 " If I enjoy not Alix' love—neither shalt thou.  
 " He spake ; half rising, clasp'd his foeman's knees,  
 " Dash'd with his arm the threatening sword aside,  
 " Then gathering life up, like the steed that sees  
 " The goal scarce reach'd with his last dying stride,  
 " He plunged his dagger in his conqueror's side ;—  
 " Too true the blow, for it was hatred's heir ;  
 " The victor sinks ; the helmet straps divide ;  
 " The casque falls back—Oh ! God ! what sight is there ?  
 " T'is Alix' charming face and golden-cluster'd hair !

Raynard gallops up to the lists just in time to see Alix die. She says to him

" Thou might'st have fallen beneath that tiger spring :  
 " Slain by a woman ends his dastard line ;  
 " To me was the offence, fitly the vengeance mine.

"Nemesis" contains many fine passages. But we hope to see the author at some future day exercise his poetical talents, which are of no mean order, upon a more fortunate subject.

*Dialogues on the Hindu Philosophy, comprising the Nyaya, the Sankhya, and the Vedant, to which is added a discussion on the authority of the Veda.*  
By Rev. K. M. Banerjea. Calcutta: 1861.

The study of Hindu philosophy has been pursued with great diligence in India for thousands of years, as the numbers of commentaries and controversial treatises prove; but, in most cases, these add very little to the intellectual wealth previously existing among the natives of Hindostan. Most of the writers only ring the changes on the old topics, without adding any real discovery of their own. The old thinkers, who first arranged the different systems, remain in their original glory; their crude speculations have been blindly accepted by their successors, who, instead of carrying on the investigation which their ancestors had so well begun, have been satisfied to receive the early gropings of science as her last teachings, and have devoted their talents to ingenious disputations, in which victory, and not truth, was the grand object of the disputants.

Out of India, Hindu philosophy can never interest more than the few. All educated men are more or less interested in that of the Greeks; the errors of Plato and Aristotle are almost as important for us as their successes; but this is because there is a historical element in Greek philosophy, and we can trace in the successive schools the gradual development of new methods and ideas. Greek philosophy, again, as handled by Plato and Aristotle, has a value like the *Novum Organon* of Bacon; we study these works for their true philosophical spirit, apart from the defects of their method, or the actual errors in their doctrines. The dialogues of the one, and the *Physics* and *Ethics* of the other, are masterpieces of philosophical writing; and we study them as we study so many other masterpieces of the Greek mind, as models of *form*.

Now Hindu philosophy, in its form, is absolutely repulsive; it was, in fact, intended, from the first, to be intelligible only to the initiated. The very plan of *Sutras*, universally adopted, stamps the barrenness of the whole method. Every system comes down to us, permanently fixed in some particular mould,—a certain number of aphorisms, unintelligible without a commentary, which are supposed to embody the entire doctrines of the school. No new truth can be added, for there is no vacancy for it: the early teachers in their haste to generalise have given every thing its definite place in their system; and the unlucky discoverer of a new truth must either found a new school for himself, or foist in his discovery in any corner of the old *Sutras* where he can squeeze it in. The voluminous writings of the Hindu commentators abound with proofs of their great sagacity, and philosophical acumen; but, cramped as they have been by their arbitrary and narrow systems, they have too often only wasted their strength on problems and difficulties which their own limitations have caused. Still, little read as Hindu philosophy will be out of India, in *India* its influence is immense; and one of the grand battles which Christianity has yet to fight here, will be with this hoary antagonist. There are some sentences of Dr. Ballantyne which will illustrate the far spread influence which it exercises over all educated natives, even those who have been trained in European science. "Our English students, struck by the imposing methodical completeness of the Brahmanical systems, which they cannot comprehend in detail, and bewildered in every attempt to cope with the dialectical subtilty of the Pundits, who, they see perfectly, though unintelligible to the English student, are quite intelligible to each other, become possessed by an uneasy

feeling that there is more, if they could but come at it, in the Sanskrit philosophy than is dreamt of in ours." These Hindu systems therefore must be studied and thoroughly examined by the trained European intellect, the truth which they contain embedded in them, must be drawn out, and their errors sifted and exposed; for we must never forget that error as well as truth has its laws, and that a false philosophy can only be overthrown by replacing its errors by truth, while we retain all that is valuable in it, and appropriate it as our own. It is in this way that Dr. Ballantyne has done such good service during his Indian career—he has made the Benares College during his principality, "a real Exchange of Indian and European learning."

Our readers will recollect that two essays were published last year, by Dr. Ballantyne and the Revd. J. Mullens, the successful competitors for the prize offered by J. Muir Esq, late of the Bengal Civil Service. The work we are now noticing, though not written for the prize, appears to owe its origin to the stimulus Mr. Muir's offer created, and we have no hesitation in saying that it is much superior to either of the before-named works. It forms a very valuable contribution to the history of Indian philosophy, and it starts many very interesting topics of inquiry. Its objects are primarily two-fold; "first to give a correct and authentic statement of the doctrines of Hindu philosophy, and secondly, to suggest such modes of dealing with them, as may prove most effective with the Hindu mind." But in the pursuit of these two inquiries a number of collateral questions are treated, which may well furnish the educated Hindus, who may read the work, with topics for serious thought.

One novel feature in the work is, that the author frequently avails himself of the different arguments, by which the advocates of contending schools have demolished each other's positions. "We have thus impressed Kanada, Kapila, Ramanuja. to do battle for us against the Vedant, and taken advantage of Sankaracharya's powerful battery against the Nyaya and Sankhya." The English reader will, we doubt not, be astonished at the acumen and felicity of illustration which these native disputants continually display; and had Professor Banerjea done nothing but collect these extracts, we should still have had to thank him for a very interesting work. The English reader has now the opportunity of learning something about one of the greatest of the Hindus, Sankaracharya, who, had he lived under more favourable influences, might have been the Aristotle or the Aquinas of his millennium.

The work consists of ten dialogues. The scene is laid at Benares, and one of the interlocutors is a Brahman, who has become a convert to Christianity. He has various conversations with his old friends, especially three, who severally hold the Sankhya, Nyaya and Vedanta doctrines. The very nature of the discussion precludes the criterion of Revelation, as the disputants do not acknowledge the Christian Scriptures; but conscience and the work of the law written in the hearts of all men, are a common ground with all. A Christian ethical influence pervades the whole,—we are never allowed to forget that, with one of the speakers, "old things have passed away,"—but it is only towards the end that he feels himself permitted to speak out more plainly on these subjects. The work does not close without shewing the "more excellent way."

Of the topics discussed, one of the most startling to a Hindu reader, will be the relation of Hindu philosophy to Buddhism. We cannot say that the author's arguments entirely convince us—in fact, on such a subject, in the utter absence of historical documents, certainty is quite out of the question—but he undoubtedly makes out a very strong case; and we recommend those of his Hindu readers who dispute it, to answer his arguments if they can. He



maintains that the notions of Maya, or the illusory nature of all mundane phenomena, transmigration, and *mukti*, or emancipation from the necessity of birth and death, are all post-Buddhist, and are not found in the earlier writings of the Hindus. He shews us how the Veda, and the Brahmanas, or later ceremonial treatises, contain no allusions to the doctrine of Maya which is the favourite Vedantist theory in India; but in Buddhism it plays a prominent part, and all the Buddhist legends about Sakya Muni's career, represent him as becoming disgusted with life, and as being impelled by this disgust to found his system which promises nirvana as the great relief. "The Brahmanical philosophers use the very same expressions with reference to the evils of life, but they cannot produce a hero as the original teacher of the doctrine. When they say this doctrine was taught by the Creator to the Sun, by the Sun to Manu, &c., it is simply a confession that they know not how to account for it—for their own Vedas show that the doctrine was unknown in the period of the Mantras, and they themselves declare that the doctrine was *lost* by the lapse of time, until it was restored in the Bhagavad Gita."

Another very important subject which is here discussed at length, is the atheism of four at least of the original schools of Hindu philosophy. It has been generally supposed that only *one* of the six, Kapila's Sankhya, was tainted with this error; but Professor Banerjea shows that the two Logical systems, the Nyaya and Vaisesika, are almost equally defective; in both it is a blind law of previous works and their effects which produces creation, and the latter especially declares expressly, that this *adrishta* is the cause of the first act of mind as well as of the primal motion of atoms. Jaimini, the founder of the Purva Mimamsa, although Elphinstone speaks of it as "purely religious, and having no claims to be placed among the schools of philosophy," has only elaborated a system of duty, without any recognition of the will of the Supreme Being,—nay, without any recognition of a Supreme Being at all. His revelation has no revealer, for sound is eternal; his laws have no lawgiver, like Lucretius' *fœdera* of nature. Even Patanjala, in the Theistic Sankhya, does not attribute creation to his supreme Being. He is "untouched by troubles, works, fruits or deserts." We have thus only the Vedanta left, out of the six; and this is discussed in the eighth and ninth Dialogues, two of the most interesting in the book. He then shows us how continually the ground of the so called vedanta is shifting, and especially at the present time. But under any form, it must retain its primal error; and our new school in Bengal is gradually driven into natural Deism. "They commenced with the acknowledgement of all the Shastras, Puranas, Smritis as well as Vedas. At least, Rammohun Roy did not avowedly reject any of them, though he did not follow the orthodox interpretation. In his preface to the Isopanishad, he admitted the authority of the whole body of our Shastras. His successors set aside the Smriti, and Puranas, and adhered to the Vedas alone, and now they have given up the Upanishads too!"

*Heart Echoes from the East.* By Miss Mary E. Leslie. Calcutta.

This is the third volume of poetry Miss Leslie has given to the public within five years. Her first and largest work, "Ina and other Poems," contains much that has the true ring of poetry in it; and although the drama of the principal piece is slight and defective, it contains many passages of undoubted excellence, whilst some of the smaller poems, such as the "Death of Moses," "Tintoretto and his Daughter," and "Eastern voices" are equal to to any thing in the limited range of Anglo-Indian poetry. Miss Leslie's second publication, "Sorrows, Aspirations, and Legends," drew its inspiration mainly from the incidents of the mutiny. If instead of cramping her imagination and her artistic skill by writing sonnets, she had described the same events in a series of spirited ballads or plaintive dirges, it would have achieved greater success, and won a wider popularity. We now have to notice her third production.

"Heart Echoes" is a volume of religious poetry; and as such we desire to judge it. We do not mean by this, that it should be submitted to other canons of criticism than those usually applied to poetry, nor do we mean that religious poetry should be subjected to severer or laxer tests than the productions of the secular muse; but that, since its range of subjects is more limited, since it does not admit, for instance, of the same descriptive flights, nor of an equally broad display of the emotions, since it is almost excluded from the realms of the drama, and cannot with much effect enter into the domains of narrative, it should be judged by what it is and not condemned for what it is not. Such a volume as this cannot be expected to contain elaborate descriptions of scenery nor thrilling incidents, such as Scott and Byron delighted in; nor that play of the fancy and imagination which pleases us so much in Spenser and Coleridge; but it is within the sphere of purely religious poetry to clothe beautiful thoughts in language rich, melodious and clear; to embody conceptions always elevated and not seldom sublime, and to exhibit sentiments unusually pure, exalted and spiritual.

The great characteristic of this volume is its extreme individual, meditative pietism. The authoress never goes out of herself. The utterance of her own thoughts, feelings, and desires about herself fills almost every page. We mention this as a peculiarity; we do not speak of it as necessarily a defect. It may be that her own nature is intensely subjective and individualized; or, perhaps, she has never come beneath influences which draw the thoughts and feelings toward the outward world; or it may be, that she designed to give unity to her volume, by excluding from it whatever was foreign to her own personal relations to the religious life. We suspect the second conjecture to be nearest the truth. We certainly think that it is well for all of us to go a good deal out of ourselves, toward the great world of suffering and of rejoicing, of good and evil, that lies outside of us, but is yet within sight and hearing; still if a writer is pleased to give us only heart utterances, we gratefully accept the offering, provided it be a worthy one, aware that we can learn enough of the outward world from others. But Miss Leslie's range of thought and feeling is greatly limited and restricted. There is always good taste, correctness of sentiment, a healthful moral tone in what she writes, but she seldom expresses deep emotions of joy or of sorrow; her nature has not yet, we imagine, come beneath the influence of any strong or over-mastering passions, and if she occasionally rises toward an eloquent expression of elevated thought,

she yet more frequently keeps to an ordinary level of sentiment and idea. This would be a defect in any book, even a prose one; for thoughts, principles and ideas are the bone and muscle of a book, and language only the flesh and skin covering them. And we hold it equally to be a defect in a volume of poetry; for surely poetry is not merely the music of words, and it is literary heresy of the gravest kind to suppose that it is nothing more: we wish, therefore, that the volume before us had in it less prosaic and more poetical thought, and that the mental and emotional parts of it were altogether of a higher order and a more extensive range. We have for instance in many of the pieces no special idea or embodiment; nothing like originality, or freshness of fancy or conceit, such as some of our best religious poets have delighted in. We suspect that Miss Leslie has often been so beguiled by attention to the mechanical art of versification, that she has overlooked the subject matter of the poem.

There are two or three minor defects we shall point out. The first we have just alluded to. Miss Leslie frequently, betrays the process of verse making by using words because of their rhyming quality merely. This exhibits the artist rather than the true poet, and imparts a mechanical air to her production, instead of that natural, impassioned, and unconstrained one which distinguishes the highest compositions. Instances abound: we will select one or two which first come to hand.

Thou didst arise,  
Leaving Thy tomb wide open, for our eyes  
To look into, when wearily we tread  
With sudden thoughts of death disquieted,  
Leaving Thy grave-clothes scattered on the floor,  
For us to wrap our brows in, when doth pour,  
The death-dew down our cheeks, and in our hearts  
We feel the spirit fluttering ere she parts.

p. 40.

And wilt thou gird Thyself, and go all round  
Giving to each Thy kingdom's fresh, new wine,  
While all the angels hush the ringing sound  
Lingering upon their harps with intertwine?

p. 113.

And thou hast died? Ah me!  
I who have suffered at the thoughts of death,  
Imagining the slow and painful breath,  
The "cutting off," as buried Psalmist saith,  
The dying agony,  
Feel strong and brave what time I calmly think  
How Thou, too, stoodest on the death-stream's brink,  
From Thee too life was cut off link by link.  
Roughly, distressingly.

p. 121.

The last words of at least half those lines are used, not because they best express the sense, but because of their rhyming properties. Yet she has no lack of rhyming and versifying power.

Miss Leslie has great partiality for compound words. We would advise her to give them up entirely, or to use them far more sparingly; most of those she employs are too artificial, and strained. How much more effective might single, well chosen words be than "tendril-young," "angel-tender-nesses," "death-ashy," "spirit-storms," &c.

We have frequently met in these pages with considerable obscurity of expression and weakness towards the close of her pieces, as if the first vigorous



flight of the authoress had suddenly suffered a collapse. The want of sustained power we shall not illustrate; but let this verse prove the former assertion.

Lay Thy hand, Saviour, on my spirit trembling,  
 Speak thou the clear, low words of hope and life,  
 The prophet's heart mine dimly then resembling,  
 Shall press on in the strife.

p. 11.

She does not mean that the prophet's heart shall press on in the strife; yet this is what is really said.

We have been thus free in our animadversions, really because we do not wish to see so much that is excellent marred or depreciated by defects; and because we recognize fully the good that there is in this volume. Its poetic claims are great; it contains passages of great tenderness, delicacy and beauty. And its defects are not radical, for they arise, we believe, frequently from carelessness, and not seldom from the choice of very involved and artificial metres. That Miss Leslie possesses considerable poetic power is evident, and we certainly desire to see her cultivating it. She is apt not to choose the most fitting medium for the exhibition of her naturally fine powers; but that she can write true poetry, full of beauty and pathos, and translucent as the waters of a Cumberland lake, we hold to be a fact which can be proved by a hundred instances.

The first Lyric, and the Sonnet "Silently rose the temple; iron clang, &c." are among the best pieces in the volume. The following are fair specimens of what Miss Leslie can write.

## XXII.

"The blind and the lame came to Him in the temple and He healed them."

MATTHEW xxi, 14.

Thy temple gates are thronged to-day, O Lord,  
 With lame and blind,  
 They come expecting not a healing word  
 From Thee to find:  
 O wearily they grope along their way,  
 In darkness, feebleness, from thee astray.

Wilt Thou not enter in these courts, as when  
 In Judah's land,  
 Thou on the temple floors 'mid crowding men  
 Didst take Thy stand,  
 Until the blind and lame passed Thee around,  
 And by Thy perfect healing rendered sound,

Went each his way,—one to the sacrifice  
 Of that bright eve,  
 To see the symbol sign with those glad eyes  
 Erst wont to grieve;  
 One to bound up the glorious, high ascent,  
 And mingle with the worshippers low bent?

Lighten our blind, O Lord, that they may see  
 With vision blest  
 Thy sacrifice upon the awful tree,  
 God manifest!

Heal Thou our lame, that they the stairs may climb  
 Which lead unto Thy dwelling place sublime.

pp. 57-58.

## L.

"We wait for Thy loving-kindness O God, in the midst of Thy temple."  
*PSALM xlviii, 10, (Prayer Book version.)*

For thy loving-kindness, Lord,  
 Wait I now ;  
 Unto me thy grace accord,  
 While I bow,  
 While thy people calm and lowly,  
 In thy temple-courts the holy,  
 Uttering with fervour slowly.  
 Hymn and vow.

Thou with all thy saints of old  
 Oft didst meet,  
 While the altar-smoke unrolled  
 Heaven did greet,  
 While the white-fleeced lambs were dying,  
 And the High-Priest deeply sighing  
 Sprinkled all the gold o'er-lying  
 Mercy seat.

Low in dust that temple lies  
 Stone by stone,  
 Ended is each sacrifice ;—  
 One alone,  
 Priest and Victim, Heaven's throne filling  
 Pleads for us, our soul fears stilling,  
 All our thoughts with rapture thrilling  
 With love's tone.

Yet wherever two or three  
 Meet to pray,  
 Is His temple, there doth He  
 Come alway ;  
 And His people ever waiting,  
 And His great love celebrating,  
 Feel His loving-kindness sating  
 Them for aye.

Father ! give me now to see  
 Even here,  
 Something of the mystery  
 True and dear,  
 Of thy heart of tenderesses,  
 Which the worn and sinful blesses,  
 Showering down soft, sweet caresses  
 Us to cheer.

Saviour ! while I wait, do Thou  
 Touch my eyes,  
 Let me see Thy glory now,  
 Ere I rise ;  
 Let me know the love that brought Thee  
 Down from blessedness ; that sought me  
 While I wandered ; and then bought me  
 With death-sighs.

Comforter ! I plead with Thee ;—  
 Come and dwell  
 In my heart most tenderly,  
 And dispel  
 All the coldness of my feeling ;  
 Unto me *His* love revealing ;  
 Me unto *His* coming sealing  
 Sure and well.

Tri-Une God, to Thee I turn  
     Waitingly,  
 Deep within my heart doth yearn  
     After Thee ;  
 While the prayer-tones are ascending,  
 While the hymn-notes are soft blending,  
 From thy throne of Glory bending,  
     Shine on me !

pp. 127-131.

## LXI.

" His great love." EPHESIANS ii, 4.

Ev'n as the mariner who rowing down  
     Some shallow sparkling stream feels evermore  
     His keel grate on the pebbles, and his oar  
 Tangled by lily leaves, and then a frown  
 Gathers upon his brow, till past the town,  
     And past the hill-side drifting, either shore  
     Fades slowly, and old ocean's hymn and roar  
 Rising around, the sheep-bell's tinklings drown :  
 His heart bounds with the waters, and his cheer  
     Rings out most joyously : so I, whose glee  
 Had passed away while fathoming the clear  
     Bright waves of earthly love's felicity,  
 Lay lulled to rest without a thought or fear  
     Upon *His* love's unsounded, shoreless sea.

p. 216.

She, who can write such a sonnet as this, makes good her claim to the rank of poet.

*The Gulistan of Shaik Saday ; a complete Analysis of the Persian text.* By Major R. P. Anderson, twelve years Interpreter of the 25th Regt. N. I. &c. &c.

The lover of oriental literature will not, of course, expect to find much to gratify his taste in a bald translation, in which the Prose and Poetry which form the elegant mosaic of the *Gulistan*, are alike 'done into English Prose' of a very indifferent sort. And to do the gallant editor justice, he does not profess any but a strictly utilitarian object in his work, and by a utilitarian standard it must be judged. On the title-page, he has, soldier-like, hung out his colours, so that there may be no mistake about it ; 'prepared by the 'author purely to facilitate the study of the Persian language,' is sufficiently explicit to warn off any curious orientalist, who might hope to find in a goodly volume, price 20 rupees, a standard edition of his favourite author. The Major's design is further explained in the first sentence of his introduction,—'the object of a work of this description is apparent ; i. e., it obviates 'the necessity of using a dictionary, and moreover the entire 'Gulistan' (as



'wanted for the examination) can now be studied without the aid of a 'Moonshee.' To dispense at once with both dictionary and Moonshee, is a tempting prospect for the young officer, who, fired with ambition to emulate the career of a 12 years' interpreter, finds to his encouragement, that a 2 volume folio dictionary, or a heavy quarto, need no longer be his travelling companion, nor a sleepy Moonshee his guide. We question however, the safety of the new royal road which so seductively opens to him in the ingeniously contrived arrangements of Major Anderson's Analysis. This designation, by the way, seems rather a misnomer. The Analysis is simply a literal rendering, given, first in the order of the Persian words, and then re-arranged into very in-elegant English. There is no attempt at grammatical analysis, either as regards the structure of sentences, or the derivation of words, unless indeed, some occasional displays of philological lore, scattered, few and far between, over the pages of the translation, are to be so regarded, e. g. on page 292 (when the student may be presumed to have gone half through the book), he is gravely informed that the puzzling compound *buzurg-zâdah* means the son of a great man, from *buzurg* a personage and *zâdah* born; and again at p. 479 when the belated individual has almost reached the end of his journey, and, it may reasonably be supposed, is about to pluck those substantial advantages of his wearisome toil, under the Author's guidance, promised him in the preface, his distrusting guide thinks it necessary to point out to his feeble vision that *zer-dastân* meaning inferiors, is a compound of *zer* under, and *dast* the hand! However, letting the somewhat pretentious title of 'Analysis' pass, and taking the book as it really is, namely what school boys are wont to call a *crib*, we are far from saying that the beginner will find no assistance from it. Our fear is that what he picks up in this otiose way will not add much to his permanent stock. 'Lightly won, lightly lost' applies to intellectual acquisitions, as truly as to the gambler's gains. The author justifies the method he has adopted, by the following singular argument. 'A student commencing the study of any foreign language has to use his judgment when referring to a dictionary, and is of course liable to select the wrong meaning. By having this 'Analysis' he finds that the *exact* meaning of the word (to suit the *very* passage he is translating) stands the *first* in the vocabulary, and if he wants also the 'general meanings, they immediately follow in succession.' We should have thought that of the two methods that which exercises the student's judgment, was preferable, and was likely to be most successful even in the proximate object of fixing the meaning of a passage in the memory. Of one thing we feel sure, that however useful the 'Analysis' may prove in cramming up for an examination, it is as ill calculated to make one a Persian scholar, as the furtive use of a *Smart's Horace* is likely to make the school boy a good classic. Still, we are aware that this method, of close translation, has not been without its advocates. The vigorous understanding of Locke, impatient of the shackles of conventionalism, sought to introduce a reform of the established systems of our grammar schools. His object was to initiate the pupil generally into the knowledge of a language before he troubled him with the rules of Syntax and Prosody, and the medium by which he proposed to give him this initiatory knowledge, was that of interlinear translations. He recommended taking some easy and pleasant book, such as Æsop's Fables, and writing the English translation, made as literal as it can be, in one line, and the Latin words which answer each of them just over it in another: and he appears to have executed such a translation; for soon after his death appeared *Æsop's Fables in Latin and English interlineary, for the benefit of those who, not having a master, would learn either of those tongues.* By

*John Locke, Gent.\** The Hamiltonian method was a more recent attempt of the same kind. We scarcely think that Major Anderson's plan of discarding the *interlinear* arrangement of the translation, and connecting the English renderings with the text by a string of numbers, as notes of reference, is at all an improvement. It has been adopted, we presume, with the view of giving room for the introduction of the series of the general meanings of each word, which he seems to consider a novel and important feature of his work. We fail to see the advantages of adding to the 'exact meaning of the word,' appropriate to the passage, a string of synonyms. The greatest blemish of the dictionaries seems here to be reproduced, and paraded as an excellence. For instance of what use, but to swell the book, is it to tell us, as on page 225, that the Persian verb translated 'leave off' is also susceptible of the meanings, '*quit, forsake, relinquish, abandon!*' or that *kho-e* may be rendered, '*a manner, a custom, a disposition, a nature?*' Half a dozen more of such futilities might be culled out of this one page, taken at random. In his laudable endeavour to strip every rose in Sady's garden of its thorn of difficulty, the Editor has taken rather a strange liberty with the text. All the Arabic proverbs and quotations (and they abound, as every reader of the *Gulistan* knows, and often contain the point of the story,) are quietly omitted from the text, without one word in explanation, so far as we have been able to find. They are translated in the English version, but have disappeared bodily from the text. We infer that in the Fort William College examinations, candidates are not expected to translate the Arabic verses, and therefore these did not fall within the scope of the Editor. We think, however, that it was scarcely fair to his author or his readers, to take this liberty with the text, and that it might have been charitably supposed that some students might be desirous of mastering the original work in its integrity. We might at least have had the opportunity given us of comparing the translation with the text on which it is based, without being reduced to the necessity of hunting out an unabridged edition of the original work.

One peculiarity of this translation is to be found in 'revised' renderings of sundry passages. The author's endeavour as he tells us in the preface, was 'to re-translate here and there some of Shaik Sady's inimitable and elegant 'similes in such a manner as to elucidate, as far as possible, their co-'vert meanings.' We cannot congratulate our author on the felicity of these attempted elucidations of his renderings. We may say, as Hooker did of interpretations of Scripture, 'those which are furthest from the text, are commonly the worst'; e. g. on the first page, Sady makes the spirited observation

*Waqt-i-zarûrat chû namânad garcz,  
Dast bagîrad sar-i-shamshîr-i-tez,*

which may be freely translated that when a man is driven up into a corner, he will seize the sword aimed at him by the point. In this there is no very covert meaning. Our translator, however, not content with giving the passage literally, 'In the time of necessity, when there remains no escape, the hand 'seizes the point of the sharp sword' adds a revised translation, which is not only destitute of all the force of the original, but fairly inverts its meaning, and violates both sense and grammar. He makes his author to utter the unmeaning platitude, that 'in the time of need, when it is impossible to escape, 'the hand graspeth the sharp edged sword.' A very natural action, doubtless,

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\* Preface to the first book of the *Iliad*, on the plan recommended by Mr. Locke, London, 1852.

to grasp one's good sword in the hour of danger: but not quite the *situation* which Sady's verse presents to the mind's eye. We must not, however, pursue our criticisms further, lest our remarks become obnoxious to the defiance which the author throws out in his preface to the 'turbulent railings of 'satirical critics!!!' but rather commend the book to the tribunal of the 'competent authorities' (we presume, he means the College examiners) to whose discrimination he confidently appeals.



